

Identity, Self-confidence and Schooling for Citizenship: Listening to Young People

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Declaration

This Thesis and the research described have been completed solely by Margaret Petrie. It has not been previously submitted for a degree at this or any other university. Where other sources are quoted full references are given.

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Abstract

Recent educational policy in Scotland advocates that education for citizenship and the promotion of self confidence should permeate the curriculum and the ethos of a school. These educational interventions are understood to be about inculcating cultural values. This study uses critical ethnography to explore how a group of teenage pupils in a Scottish comprehensive engage with and express cultural values and the nature of the values expressed. The study explores the ways this diverse group of young people creatively construct identities, how they ascribe and seek social value, and the ways they enact, embody and resist social classification. Utilising Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, capital and field the study illustrates that young people's constructions of self and others reveal culturally embedded social and moral codes. Although the discourse and practice of these contemporary young people show changing conceptions of identity in relation to class, gender, sexuality and race, they also illustrate entrenched social inequality. They further highlight that subjectivities are ascribed by these categories and establishing identity is not merely a "matter of individual decisions" (Beck & Beck-Gersheim 1996:29). The ways in which young people enact, embody and assign social classification indicates the enduring link between subject and structure. Implicit in young people's descriptions of youth subcultures, for example, are social distinctions based on class, gender and ethnicity in addition to condemnatory conceptions of what it means to be working class.

This study also finds, however, that these young people do not passively absorb dominant constructions of social value but creatively resist the social denigration of ascribed identities, to try to establish self worth inducing representations of their own. In this the young people are responsive to social field, the power structures and cultural practices embedded in different locations around a school and in diverse social worlds outside of school. The young people reveal multiple identities and the capacity to negotiate conflicting and contradictory moral codes across diverse social fields. Contra Bourdieu, and in keeping with aspects of Willis's (1977, 2004) argument, the young people displayed agency which revealed insight into structural classification. These young people valued the opportunity to talk and to have their perspectives valued. Their insights support Freire's (1972, 2005) argument that the popular culture of students is a useful starting point for an educational practice which encourages dialogue, critical thinking and engagement with wider social issues.

Chapter One: Introducing the Thesis

1 What is this study about?

This study is about how a group of contemporary young citizens construct a sense of identity and self worth within the context of a Scottish secondary school and the ways that their meaning making might illuminate the cultural influence of school on the construction of citizenship identities.

1.1 Background

In 2002 "Education for Citizenship in Scotland: A Paper for Discussion and Development" was produced by the Advisory Council of Learning and Teaching Scotland (Learning and Teaching Scotland 2002). This set out a framework for citizenship education in Scotland which was conceived not as a taught subject but as permeating the curriculum and ethos of a school. Alongside this initiative the Scottish Government set a target that all schools should become health promoting by 2007. "Being Well, Doing Well: A Framework for Health Promoting Schools in Scotland" advocated the importance of "creating an ethos of care, respect, participation, responsibility and fairness to all" (Scottish Health Promoting Schools Unit 2004). Each of these initiatives were later incorporated into the Curriculum for Excellence (Scottish Executive Education Department 2004:9) which has focused on schools enabling pupils to acquire the capacity to become "responsible citizens", "self-confident individuals", "effective contributors" and "successful learners" via cross curricular school practice and ethos. Education for citizenship and the promotion of self confidence in schools aim to influence children and young people's values, attitudes and behaviour, their perception of self and others, in and beyond school (Her Majesties Inspectors of Education 2006).

One of the prime purposes of education is to make our young people aware of the values on which Scottish society is based and so help them to establish their own stances on matters of social justice and personal and collective responsibility. Young people therefore need to learn about and develop these values. The curriculum is an important means through which this personal development should be encouraged. (Curriculum Review Group, Learning and Teaching Scotland 2008)

The Curriculum Review Group identify education's key role in explicitly shaping young peoples values. Making sure young people acquire specific values is considered as "personal development" but also paradoxically a means that young people can "establish their own stances" on social justice and personal and collective responsibility.

Although the resurgence of international interest in education for citizenship is a fairly recent phenomenon (Osler and Starkey 2005a, Lawy and Biesta 2006), there is a long standing social and political connection made between the rearing, wellbeing and education of children and the welfare of society at large (Rose 1999, Nussbaum 2001). Education for citizenship has an emphasis on the socialisation of the young and as highlighted above the inculcation of specific "national" values (Andrews & Mycock 2007, HMIE 2006). Self confidence is seen to be an important pre-requisite of active citizenship (Ireland et al 2006, LTS 2002) Osler and Starkey (2005b) suggest that one of the contextual factors nationally and internationally that has led to an emphasis on citizenship education is as a means of addressing a perceived youth deficit in relation for example to political apathy, violence or anti-social behaviour. Further reasons they highlight relate to a lack of civic and political engagement, a need to promote social cohesion in the context of globalisation, and a desire to combat both social injustice and the rise of anti-democratic or racist movements.

Rose (1999:2) has charted the development of a Government and organisational focus on regulating the conduct of citizens by the management of subjectivity, by "acting on their mental capacities and propensities." Building on the work of Michel Foucault, Rose (1999) notes complexity in the exercise of power in relation to what he calls "technologies of the self". He argues that the features of human existence that many might consider to be private matters - our "personalities, subjectivities and "relationships"" - are in fact intensively governed. Rose (1999:1) states that, "...the personal and subjective capacities of citizens have been incorporated into the scope and aspirations of public powers." Much of this has been manifest in government practices targeted towards the young, although most organisations now link success to the effective management of the subjective capacities of their human resources

(Rose 1999:2). It is seen as a responsibility of government to care for the health, welfare and development of children as linked to the future development of the nation. A succession of professional expertise such as social workers, psychologists, psychoanalysts, or counsellors has been developed to protect, monitor, assess and improve the development of specific personal capacities or attributes. The recognition that educational achievement might be undermined by poor emotional or physical wellbeing is reflected in the title of the policy document, "Being Well, Doing Well." In addition the educational focus on young people achieving the capacity to become "responsible citizens", or "self confident" individuals would seem to reflect this desire to influence the subjective capacities of the young because of their potential contribution to society in the future.

The backdrop of this study is the Scottish educational policy focus on enabling young people to develop the "mental capacity and propensity" to become "responsible citizens" and "self confident individuals" (Rose 1999, SEED 2004). The connection made here between personal and social goals is taken up by Rose (1999:261) who argues that "technologies of the self" are not essentially designed to dominate but aim to link social, political and institutional goals "with individual pleasures and desires and with the happiness and the fulfilment of the self."

If the new techniques for the care of the self are subjectifying, it is not because experts have colluded in the globalization of political power, seeking to dominate and subjugate the autonomy of the self, through the bureaucratic management of life itself. Rather it is that modern selves have become attached to the project of freedom, have come to live it in terms of identity, and to search for the means to enhance that autonomy through the application of expertise (Rose 1999:262).

Rose contends that there has been an increasing demand in Western democracies that individuals take responsibility for the self, one's own conduct and its consequences, in the name of self realisation, rather than depend on state welfare. Well-being is seen to be a consequence of responsible self government and contributing to the well being of all. Rose suggests here that strategies to influence subjective capacities are not simply passively absorbed by individuals but actively sought out as a means to establish a personally valued identity. Young people are likely to be active in seeking to establish a positive sense of self.

In order to understand the nature of the influence of contemporary school culture on young people's subjective capacities this study aims, therefore, to listen to young people's interpretations of how they construct self in relation to others. This study sets out to explore school ethos or culture from the perspective of a group of secondary school pupils in one Scottish secondary. This research aims to make visible how a core group of 8 girls and 4 boys¹² between the ages of 15 and 17 interpret and construct meaning in relation to self and others in their social world. I explore the ways that these young people creatively construct identities in the context of school. I consider the ways that they ascribe and seek social value, and the ways they enact, embody and resist social classification.

The overarching question that this study seeks to address is:

- In the context of educational strategies aiming to promote responsible citizenship and self confidence via the culture or ethos of the school - how do contemporary young citizens construct a sense of identity and self worth in the context of school?

Rather than imposing a definition of citizenship on the young people my study takes the broad conception of citizenship as embedded in individuals' relationship with society and uses critical ethnography to explore how a group of young people's attending a Scottish comprehensive construct self-in-society (Gordon et al. 2001, Lawy and Biesta 2006) . An ethnographic approach acknowledges the need to build relationships with pupils over time in order that they can feel safe enough to express their views (James 2001, Wilson 2008).

The study aims to take account of diversity and difference by involving both boys and girls from differing ethnic and class backgrounds (Osler and Starkey 2000, Figueroa 2000). This study supports commentators who challenge a conception of children and young people as citizens-in-waiting and in recognising young people as citizens now addresses a gap in knowledge in relation to young people's everyday

¹ The study also includes perspectives from approximately twenty friends of core participants

² A table of each of the core participants is included in Appendix One

experiences and narratives of citizenship in the context of schooling (Lister 2003, 2007, Hall & Williamson 1999, Cohen 2005).

2 Why am I interested?

Themes discussed in this study that relate to class, gender, (White Scottish) ethnicity, disability and discrimination have been themes which shaped my own childhood and youth and continue to focus my passions and interests. I have a work background in youth work, adult education and community development. I have worked in solidarity with people experiencing difficulty as a consequence of social inequality and discrimination but who have generally been framed in public discourse as being individually deficit in some way. Each of the young people who are the focus of this study is different. They are distinguished by class, gender, ethnicity, disability, religion and personal biography. I have been interested in how these diverse young people make sense of and respond to their experience of inequality, particularly in relation to gender, race and class and how this impacts on their constructions of self and others and their associated relationships.

Throughout the years I have found engaging with different theories based on empirical research enabled me to make sense of my experience and become a more effective practitioner. I became interested in the potential contribution of research and education to social change by making the power struggles and ideologies embedded in social relations visible. Latterly I have worked as an independent researcher on themes associated with social justice, and trainer creating space for practitioners working in the public and voluntary sector to critically reflect on practice.

The key themes that I am interested in and that this study has enabled me to explore are:

- the relationship between self and society (the personal and the political)
- the role of education in either reproducing existing social inequalities or enabling social justice

- integrating research, theory and practice

3 Format of the thesis

The second chapter is in two sections. Section one reviews literature relating to young people's constructions of citizenship identities and education for citizenship identifying existing knowledge and areas which require further study. Section two goes on to clarify the conceptual and theoretical framework through which the more detailed research questions are specified and addressed in the findings chapters. The third chapter outlines the research design and the theoretical and methodological rationale informing the research approach. The fourth chapter considers research participants' descriptions of the youth subcultures in particular "Neds, Chavs, Goths and Geeks" and how the young people obliquely classify each other on the basis of social position or social class and in so doing classify themselves. Chapter five considers contemporary subcultures, "Plastics and Emos" which are represented by dress codes and styles of consumption implicated in constructions of gender which reflect changing social attitudes but also highlight the durability of gender, sexuality and class inequalities. Chapter six considers young people's constructions of ethnicity in the context of globalisation and increasingly diverse pupil populations highlighting complex and multiple identities. Chapter seven explores pupil and teacher interaction in the social field of the school and the complex relations of power, control, and resistance embedded in all the social spaces of the school. The concluding chapter eight summarises the key findings of the study, addresses the key research questions and reflects on implications for theory and practice.

Chapter Two: Section One

Constructing the Citizen - Theoretical Background

1 Introduction

This study conceptualises young people as "citizens of today rather than citizens in waiting" (Learning and Teaching Scotland 2002: 8) and asks what contemporary young citizens' everyday constructions of identity and self worth in the context of school can tell us about their experience of learning citizenship. Young people's meaning making in relation to their position as citizens is significant in the context of a recent resurgence of political interest in the role of schooling in shaping citizens, in particular "responsible citizens" and "self-confident individuals" (Learning and Teaching Scotland 2004, 2008). As I will go on to discuss, citizenship is a contested term. However a key aspect of education for citizenship is understood to be about inculcating cultural values and moral codes through the ethos of the school (Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education (HMIe 2006). This study explores the meanings that young people attribute to their cultural experience of school as a means of considering the cultural impact of school on young people.

The discipline of sociology and the sociology of education provide the overall theoretical framework within which this study is located. The bodies of knowledge to which this study aims to contribute are the sociology of education including the burgeoning literature on education for citizenship; and youth studies.

The research process has inevitably been iterative between data, literature and theoretical analysis. The relevance of specific theorists and aspects of literature have become more obvious as the study progressed. This chapter summarises and reviews what literature and studies in the fields of cultural sociology, the sociology of education, education for citizenship and youth studies can tell us about young people's constructions of citizenship, identity and self-worth in the context of schooling. Psychology literature has contributed significantly to the study of adolescent and youth identities. As the conceptual and theoretical framework of this

study is sociological, literature drawn from this field is cross cutting primarily emphasising a psycho-social perspective.

The last chapter identified the overarching research question.

- In the context of educational strategies aiming to promote responsible citizenship and self confidence via the culture or ethos of schooling - how do contemporary young citizens construct a sense of identity and self worth in the context of schooling?

This chapter, which is divided into two sections, develops and refines that research question into three more detailed questions. Section one reviews literature relating to young people's constructions of citizenship identities and education for citizenship identifying existing knowledge and areas which require further study. Section Two goes on to clarify the conceptual and theoretical framework through which the more detailed research questions are specified and addressed in the findings chapters.

I start by reviewing the role of Scottish education in citizenship and identity which highlights gaps in knowledge about contemporary young people's meaning making in relation to citizenship identities and their experience of education for citizenship in the Scottish context.

2 The role of Scottish Education in Citizenship and Identity

There is no national curriculum in Scotland but national standards within which schools have some freedom to decide how to meet their educational obligations. Education for citizenship in Scotland is conceived as permeating the curriculum and the ethos of a school. It is also seen as integral to the current educational aim for education in Scotland, (outlined in the policy document Curriculum for Excellence 2004, 2008), to enable young people to become "responsible citizens, successful learners, confident individuals and effective contributors" (HMIe 2006). Its fundamental purpose is posited as "preparing young people for political, social,

economic, cultural and educational participation in society" (HMIe 2006:3). Pupils are not subject to an easily measurable assessment in the subject of citizenship and although quality indicators for self evaluation have been devised there is no numeric indicator of performance in this topic. Schools are asked to provide narrative evidence of the range and scale of their work in this area. The Modern Studies curriculum in Scotland has as its main aim the teaching and development of political literacy "through a framework of analysis and a core of concepts adopted from the social science of politics and sociology" (Maitles 2003). Modern Studies therefore teaches what is conceived to be a key strand of citizenship education. Modern Studies is commonly available to pupils in first and second years of secondary school and since it can be studied as a Standard grade or Higher grade, is an assessable part of the curriculum. Not all pupils will choose to pursue this option, however.

"The Nature of the Scottish Approach to Education for Citizenship" is outlined in the HMIe (2006:3/4) document *Education for Citizenship: A Portrait of Current Practice in Scottish Schools and Pre-School Centres*: -

The approach recommended in Scotland, is to embed citizenship across the curriculum and through the wider life of the school, rather than teach it as a separate subject [.....] it is a basic tenet of the Scottish approach to education for citizenship that the school can play an important role in developing personal values - political, social, environmental and spiritual - through the experiences it offers and through sustained emphasis on responsible behaviour and concern for others [....] Equally, to live in a modern vibrant democracy, effective programmes of education for citizenship must enable learners to become critical and independent thinkers [.....] The Scottish approach also emphasises promoting citizenship through participation in cultural activity. Creativity, flair and enterprise are essential qualities for citizens of the 21st century. Young people should be made to feel they can achieve as confident individuals through the arts, including the performing arts and through sporting activities [....] A positive ethos is recognised in many schools as being vital in allowing young people to develop citizenship skills. Pupils feel valued when they have a say

There is a strong emphasis on an inclusive approach, on meeting the needs of all learners. Pupils are also conceived as citizens now rather than citizens in waiting (LTS 2002). There is recognition in the Scottish context that pupils learn implicitly about what it means to be an active citizen through their experience of the culture of a school, the choices they are able to make, in the way that all members of the school community are treated, how the school is organised and managed and its relationship

with the local community (LTS 2002). Education is seen to have a key role in relation to inculcating cultural values, developing individual attributes, in shaping how a young person is and the type of adult that they will become. The stated focus on a "Scottish approach" emphasises the significance of a separate Scottish education system and suggests a distinct Scottish national identity. John Meyer has argued,

Mass education creates a whole series of assumptions about the common culture of society and thus expands the social meaning of citizenship, personhood and individuality. Regardless of what people actually learn in school about their language and culture, nationally institutionalised mass education creates the assumption of national culture. (Meyer 1977:69)

This implies that young people will acquire a sense of a Scottish identity primarily because they attend a distinctly Scottish education system which inculcates an assumption of a separate Scottish national culture. But what assumptions about "the common culture of society" and social meanings of "citizenship, personhood and individuality" might be visible in the meaning making of young people in the Scottish educational context?

A few studies in the Scottish context have explored a conceptualisation of citizenship education as enabling young people to have more meaningful decision making opportunities in school. For example Maitles and Gilchrist (2006) explore the impact of a democratic teaching approach to education for citizenship in a case study of a moral and religious studies class in a Scottish secondary school. This study offers some evidence that democratic approaches to citizenship education which give pupils some control over decision making over curriculum content in the classroom can increase self confidence, motivation and relationships with others. Ian Mills (2004) considers young people's involvement in decision making in a selection of 8 comprehensive schools, and finds that while some imaginative schemes are in place there is a fair degree of scepticism amongst pupils about their value. Mills (2004) suggestion of pupil scepticism about the value of youth councils and Maitles (2005:12) argument that "the current typical Scottish school" has a "fundamentally undemocratic, indeed authoritarian structure" suggest ongoing obstacles to democratic approaches which encourage greater pupil involvement in decision making. This argument is supported to a certain extent by Ross, Munn & Brown

(2007) who analyse 14 web-based case studies submitted by teachers to the Learning and Teaching Scotland Citizenship Education website concerning "participation as citizenship." Their findings suggest few attempts to develop critical political literacy and that the encouragement of participation is designed to be "non-transgressive" of the institution, although the researchers consider that there is the potential for "the mechanisms of participation to become more transgressive as they develop" (Ross et al 2007:255).

These studies highlight a potential tension between attempts to enable the critical autonomy of pupils and the desire for pupil compliance with structural rules in the context of the mass education of young people. This complex issue is highlighted in the citizenship literature as a tension between the rights and responsibilities of citizenship (e.g. Lawson 2001, Lockyer 2003). The Scottish studies reviewed here also highlight a hierarchical relationship between adult and young person in the context of school with young people in a far less powerful position. The social and cultural spaces that young people inhabit are likely to be markedly different from adults and therefore their construction of the cultural experience of school will also be significantly different. This issue is implicitly raised in a small scale study undertaken as part of the Applied Educational Research Scheme (AERS 2008) which explores how pupils in first or fifth year of a large secondary school experience teaching and learning and how the broader school environment and culture impact on this (Wilson 2008). This study highlights cultural differences between adult and pupil constructions of the school experience.

The research discussed in this section primarily advances ideas about how schools rather than pupils interpret the meaning and purpose of education for democratic citizenship which includes political literacy, pupil participation in decision making as a form of active citizenship and the significance of school culture in enabling or inhibiting this form of learning. Although the three research studies cited include pupil views, none of this research specifically considers young people's meaning making in relation to school culture. None of the studies consider the significance of plural citizenship identities amongst young people. In order to understand the role of

Scottish education in citizenship and identity these studies highlight a need to further explore school culture as it is experienced by diverse school pupils.

The purpose of the next section is:

- to review what is already known about young people's meaning making in relation to citizenship, identity and schooling outside the scope of the Scottish milieu
- to highlight the areas of knowledge that this study aims to develop
- to identify the conceptual and theoretical framework that shapes this study and that is further developed in Section Two of this chapter

3 Exploring Citizenship and Identity in Studies with Young People

Thus as I see it to be a citizen is not a simple matter of first as a child growing up to be a socially competent adult, and then simply walking out into the everyday world to take up one's rights and duties as a citizen. This is impossible. For the fact is, no-one quite knows yet what it is to be a citizen, it is a status which one must struggle to attain in the face of competing versions of what is proper to struggle for (Shotter 1993:115/6).

A number of commentators have pointed out that very little is known as yet about the meaning making of young people in relation to both citizenship and the experience of citizenship education (Kerr and Cleaver 2004, Lister et al 2003, Kennelly & Dillabough 2008). Although the theoretical literature concerning citizenship has grown rapidly in recent years there are relatively few empirical studies exploring citizenship from the perspective of young people (Lister et al 2003, 2007). As Lister (2007: 54) points out "citizenship has been implicitly equated with adulthood".

Theoretical debates about contested conceptions of citizenship reflect wider theoretical debates about the nature of society evident in youth studies and sociology of education literature (Cleaver et al 2004, Lockyer et al 2003, Olssen et al 2004, Osler 2000, Arnot & Dillabough 2000). The literature reviewed here encompass some of these key themes: contested meanings; contradictory school practice; cultural values, moral codes and the classification of citizenship identities; social

change and the impact of contemporary culture. The substantive studies featured have been chosen because they specifically engage with young people.

3.1 Contested Meanings

The way we define citizenship is intimately linked to the kind of society and political community we want (Mouffe 1992)

A key theme in the citizenship literature and in the studies discussed is the contested interpretation of the meaning of citizenship and the significance of cultural context (including school culture) in shaping conceptions of citizenship (Ireland et al 2004, Frazer 2000, Lawson 2001, Wilkins 2003, Mills 2004, Haste 2006). The contested meanings applied to education for citizenship are linked to wider debates about the meanings of citizenship, the meaning and purpose of education and the nature of society. Ongoing debate about the meaning of citizenship is reflected in a number of studies which report conceptual confusion amongst pupils and teachers about the meaning of the term (Leighton 2004, Fraser 2000, Chamberlin 2003, Ireland et al 2007).

Lawson (2001) for example uses a small study in three secondary schools in England of pupil's community involvement to explore contested and fluid conceptions of citizenship. Lawson (2001: 177) argues that although there is general acceptance about the constituent parts of citizenship – which she suggests are "the notion of participation in public life, the idea that a citizen is one who both governs and is governed, a sense of identity, an acceptance of societal values, and rights and responsibilities" – these aspects are hotly debated. She contends that the critical feature of debates is the balance between the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. She suggests three approaches to citizenship informed by liberal individualism, communitarianism and republicanism. She posits a tension between liberal individualism's rights based version of citizenship and "New Labour's" communitarian approach which she argues defines "citizenship as obligation". This view is partially supported by Lockyer (2003) who instead posits the key tension as between liberal and civic republican ideas. Whereas the emphasis in a liberal

education is to facilitate the autonomy of the individual, the emphasis in civic republicanism is on fulfilling individual potential through service to the common good. Lockyer (2003) points out that these differing strains of thought are not exclusive of other influences and each can encompass radical and conservative ideology. Taking up this conception of citizenship as an ongoing struggle over ideas, Frazer (2000) argues that the focus on values in cross curricular citizenship education is a depoliticising move which masks the combative, antagonistic nature of politics. Pring (1999) has similarly suggested that citizenship education is political education under a more "palatable guise." Both Frazer and Pring imply that citizenship education may be delivered in a way which implicitly assumes consensus. Frazer's review of studies that include pupil voices highlights the lack of salience of the term citizenship in the UK context for both pupils and teachers.

Values, however, are not necessarily as uncontroversial or apolitical as Frazer contends. Nussbaum (2000), for example, in advancing a "capabilities" approach to human development, has argued for international adherence to universal values which defend the interests of disadvantaged women across the globe. She argues against cultural relativity which denies women the capability to exercise freedoms on the grounds of cultural difference. Citizenship in Nussbaum's terms is not just about rights but about being given the capability to exercise rights, an aspect of which is access to education. In this account the critical issue is how diverse young people may be enabled to exercise their citizenship rights, in part, through being given the educational capability. Lister (2007) has also highlighted the mobilisation of the "inclusionary potential" of the discourse of citizenship to promote "parity of participation" (Fraser 2003) and highlights children and young people as a marginalised group in relation to citizenship participation.

Lister et al (2003) undertook a three-year longitudinal study of young people in East Midlands interviewing 110 people on what they describe as their transition to adult citizenship at 16/17, 18/19 and 22/23 years of age. Their study highlights that although the language of citizenship "was not part of the everyday language of the young people" who took part in their study "its essence resonated with their own

attempts to make sense of their position in society" (2003:237). They (Lister et al 2003:237-239) report five models of citizenship as understood by young people.

Citizenship is described, from the most to the least articulated, as:

a universal status which was articulated as "a person" or everyone and "a sense of belonging"

respectable economic independence - a person who is in waged employment, pays taxes and has a family

constructive social participation - someone who is helping others and making a contribution to their community

social-contractual - being a part of society and having rights and responsibilities

the right to a voice - the right and genuine opportunity to have a say in "what goes on"

The fact that young people often drew on a number of models of citizenship simultaneously "to make sense of citizenship and their own identities as citizens" leads Lister et al (2003:251) to argue that the lived citizenship of young people needs to be understood in fluid terms that cut across fixed theoretical categories.

Hall, Coffey & Williamson (1999) adopt this more fluid conception of citizenship in their exploration of the relationship between young people's identity construction and the concept of citizenship. Their qualitative study involves ethnographic field work in a range of informal education or youth work settings. Participant observation was augmented by in depth interviews with young people and adult facilitators. They argue that the formal legal definition of citizenship as status is not employed by young people or adults in their everyday lives but rather a broader normative conception incorporating a notion of membership but also evoking other themes "belongingness, independence and equality, responsibility and participation, and shared existence and identity" (Hall et al 1999: 504). The Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study (CELS) in England (Kerr 2009: 1) commissioned by the Department of Children, Schools and Families has also found that "students define citizenship as more to do with rights and responsibilities, and issues of identity and equality, than with political literacy and active participation in formal political processes" and that young people developed a stronger sense of belonging to their

school community as they grow older in comparison to family, local or national communities. The CEL study has followed the first cohort of school students in England to undertake citizenship education in 2002 and is following them through to their transition to adult citizens in 2009/10. The research is also undertaking case studies of twelve schools and a cross sectional survey of pupils and citizenship teachers every two years. The aim of the study is to examine the effects of the compulsory citizenship education programmes on the knowledge, skills and attitudes of young people and the impact of different strategies of delivery in schools in England. The study has found that while young people are aware of wider political issues, their attitude to civic participation is primarily influenced "by what goes on in **closer, familiar contexts** such as school, family, peers and local neighbourhood" (Kerr 2009: 1 - *bold in original*). In other words they are influenced by their immediate cultural and personal environment.

Osler and Starkey (2000: 3) argue that education for citizenship has two inter-related components "the structural/political and the cultural/personal." They (Osler and Starkey 2005a) suggest that while citizenship can be understood as a status and a practice it is most often experienced as a sense of belonging. A number of commentators agree with Lister's earlier point that young people do not have full citizenship status (Weller 2003, Morris et al 2003, Cohen 2005). Still at an age of enforced dependence they are not given all the rights of adult citizenship status such as entitlement to vote or access to welfare benefits. Morris et al (2003:196) suggests that "the fact that young people are excluded from formal politics on account of their age is lost less on them than it is on policy makers."

This section highlights that citizenship is a contested term which can be interpreted in different ways to serve diverse political interests. These studies highlight the significance of young people's semi-citizenship or citizen-in-the-making status in young people's own constructions of citizenship. Young people do not use the language of citizenship in their everyday practice. When young people construct their own sense of a citizenship identity, as these studies show, they invoke a broad conception of citizenship which focuses more on the cultural and the personal -

identity, belonging and relationships with others rather than the status of citizenship. These studies highlight the import of young people's cultural or social status on their constructions of citizenship as discussed further in the next section.

3.2 Contested Representations of Youth

A number of commentators suggest that the resurgent political interest in education for citizenship has been motivated by a deficit model of youth characterised by political apathy and moral decline manifested in anti-social behaviour (Osler and Starkey 2005b, Morris et al 2003, Rowe 2006). This conception of citizenship was reflected in the 2006 Respect Action Plan introduced by the then Prime Minister Tony Blair who argued that there had been too much emphasis on rights and not enough on responsibilities (Blair 2006). The plan focused on deterring anti-social behaviour amongst young people and “investing in good behaviour” primarily by funding extra-curricular activities in schools, more sporting opportunities and encouraging young people into volunteering (Blair 2006).

Valentine et al (1998) argue that much of the concern about young people derives from,

.. anxiety about the undisciplined and unruly nature of young people (particularly working class youth) [that] has been repeatedly mobilised in definitions of youth and youth cultures for over 150 years (Valentine et al 1998:4 in Aitkin 2001:6)

Literature highlighting adult attitudes to young people and citizenship can be contrasted with research that reports the views of young people and disputes the conception of young people as politically apathetic, irresponsible or "anti-social." Such studies highlight instead that young people's disinterest and cynicism is with mainstream politics rather than social issues or community concerns as a whole. Lister et al (2003), for example, finds that young people are more fluent in the language of responsibilities rather than rights and emphasise good citizenship as constructive social participation. Haste and Hogan (2006) also find that obeying the law, helpfulness and community involvement are widely endorsed by young people as attributes of the "good" citizen.

Haste and Hogan (2006:474) consider civic activism as "a moral sensitivity which carries with it a personal responsibility to act" and explore this in questionnaire data collected from 1136 young people by a market and social research agency. They find that while more females express concern about "quality of life and green issues", more males express interest in "Sovereignty issues"; "being upset by events in the news" is a significant impetus to action; and overall young people have a greater interest in single issue politics than mainstream political affiliation. This latter finding is supported by Chamberlin's (2003) study involving approx 20 pupils in four schools which finds widespread cynicism of citizenship education and a greater enthusiasm for single issue rather than mainstream politics.

Morris et al' (2003) gathered questionnaire responses from 1249, 15-16 year old pupils in 24 schools in Hertfordshire. They too find general cynicism and a lack of knowledge about mainstream politics, however over half of the young people want to do something to improve their community and a high proportion are already active in extra -curricular activities in their schools. Haste and Hogan (2006:490) argue that there is a link between moral or cultural values and political interests which might be useful for understanding young people's political motivation. They suggest a need to systematically engage with young people to find out what motivates them to civic action.

These studies show that the social construction of young people, as disinterested in politics or civic issues is inaccurate and a misrepresentation of their cynicism about mainstream politics. Bruner (1996:46) argues that teaching and learning in the context of the school can be informed by cultural beliefs ("folk psychologies or pedagogies") about children or young people and how to help them learn.

..they may be seen as wilful and needing correction; as innocent and to protected from a vulgar society; as needing skills to be developed only through practice; as empty vessels to be filled with knowledge that only adults can provide; as egocentric and in need of socialisation (Bruner 1996:49)

Bruner's point, that the aim of educating young people for citizenship might reflect a variety of assumptions about young people which will influence how education for citizenship is implemented, is explored further in the next section.

3.3 Contradictory Conceptions and Implementation of Citizenship Education

In England the concept of citizenship adopted in education is that advocated by the Crick Advisory Committee (1998) of political literacy, community involvement and social and moral responsibility. A "light touch" approach was adopted for the introduction of citizenship education in England which means that although citizenship education is included in the national curriculum as a statutory obligation, schools can, as in the Scottish context, interpret how they implement citizenship education (Keating et al 2009:11).

A number of small scale studies have explored citizenship education in the English context in addition to the large Citizenship Education Longitudinal Study described above. Leighton (2004) reviews citizenship education in four schools and includes interviews with pupils. He highlights four models of implementing citizenship education - a discrete subject; as part of Personal, Social and Health Education (PSHE); integrated into existing curricular subjects; special focus events. The CEL study also highlights that citizenship education is delivered as a discrete subject in England but most commonly incorporated into PSHE, as providing opportunities for pupils to participate in meaningful decision making, to engage in extra curricular community activities, or a combination of all approaches (Keating et al 2009).

Leighton (2004) suggests that citizenship may be understood by many in schools as a skill rather than a concept or a process. Certainly the CEL study expressly aims to assess whether citizenship education has led to the acquisition of skills and the development of more civic-minded attitudes and behaviours. For example the most recent study (Keating et al 2009:13) reports on teachers and school leaders view of how far citizenship education has improved pupil behaviour, tolerance, awareness of the local community and ability to make decisions. The study does not report on how

a wide range of curriculum subjects, such as humanities subjects, might specifically impact on citizenship identity. Pring (1999) suggests that political education is already embedded in humanities subjects that allow opportunity for discussion and debate. A study by Paterson (2009), analysing data from the National Child Development Study and the British Cohort Study which explores the effects of different kinds of curriculum on people's social attitudes and civic values, supports his argument to a certain extent. Paterson (2009:95) suggests that studying social science and the arts is significant in encouraging civic values. Pring (1999) argues that the key issue at stake is not agreeing a definition of citizenship but engaging young people in critical debate and discussion about the issues associated with politics and what it means to be "fully human."

Contradictory reactions by teachers to school strikes against the war in Iraq reflect conflicting conceptions of what can be counted as active citizenship or an opportunity for citizenship education. Cunningham & Lavelette's (2004) review of teacher attitudes and interviews with 13 pupils involved in school strikes against the war in Iraq reveal a political activism amongst pupils that is not valued by all teachers, highlighting the tension in school practice between fostering compliance to school rules and structures; and encouraging autonomy and critical thinking. Lawy and Biesta (2006:42) also argue that the problem with conceiving "citizenship as achievement" and guiding young people towards a pre-described outcome is that it does not recognise that young people have a right to be understood as citizens now. They argue that citizenship should be understood as an ongoing practice including everyone 'from the cradle to the grave' (Lawy and Biesta 2006:43). They maintain that young people learn to be citizens "as a consequence of the actual practices that make up their lives" (Lawy and Biesta 2006:45). Weller (2003) also offers evidence that schools approach to education for citizenship construct young people as "citizens-in-the-making." Weller's (2003:156) study focuses on 13 - 16 year olds on the Isle of Wight, explores young people's exclusion from what she calls "spaces of citizenship" and the role of citizenship education in promoting participation. She suggests that young people are primarily motivated, interested and engaged by their

own cultural activities and spaces rather than school activities and are the best "experts regarding their own citizenship" (Weller 2003:169).

Gordon, Holland & Lahelma (2000) undertook a comparative ethnographic study in Finland and England exploring the process of becoming a citizen in schools. They aimed to explore citizenship as cultural and embodied. They suggest that the production of individual citizens takes place in "the official, the informal and the physical school" (Gordon et al. 2000: 199). The official school constructs what citizens should know and desirable ways of being; the informal school encourages pupil participation but is also, Gordon et al (2000:199) suggest, a space where the responsible citizen is criticised as young people construct and police their own conception of culturally valued identities. The physical school positions young people in multiple ways "these positions are enacted in space and spatiality is implicated in social, cultural and interpersonal processes of contact, co-operation, differentiation and marginalisation" (Gordon et al 2000:137). Another key finding from Gordon et al's (2000) study concerns the tension between control and agency in everyday school practices. School students are both encouraged to behave in prescribed ways but also to take responsibility for their own behaviour "albeit in a way that fits the official agenda" (p192). Gordon et al (2000:192) find that "students set out to make spaces for themselves and to integrate the demands of both control and agency." This is however where differentiation takes place and students are able to exercise agency and competency in different ways to differing degrees.

In UK policy terms citizenship education is understood as a means of socialising the young and inculcating "national" values (Andrews & Mycock 2007, HMIe 2006, Kerr & Cleaver 2004). This view of the purpose of education reflects a functionalist conception of education. Durkheim (1956, 1962) saw education as having key importance in shaping moral values enabling social cohesion and consensus (Sadovnik 2007). Functionalist theorists emphasise the interdependence of the social system, focusing on the processes that maintain social order by stressing consensus and agreement. Functionalists perceive schools operating in the interests of the majority of citizens in democratic societies and make a distinction between equality

of opportunity and equality of results. Meritocracy is understood as enabling children and young people to fairly compete for unequal rewards.

Conflict theorists argue, however, that equality of opportunity is far more problematic than functionalism would suggest and see schooling as serving the interests of dominant groups in society (Sadovnik 2007). Conflict theorists have engaged in a range of empirical studies which suggest that schools reproduce or pass on to students social identities that can either enhance or hinder their life chances (Bernstein 1977, Bourdieu & Passeron 1977, Bowles & Gintis 1976). Similarly studies reviewed here suggest that diverse young people may not experience education for citizenship in the same way. In addition these studies highlight young people as citizens now whose diverse constructions of citizenship will reflect their own day to day issues, concerns and cultural conceptions which may or may not coincide with school agendas in relation to education for citizenship. The differential construction of citizenship identities is discussed further in the next section.

3.4 Cultural Values, Moral Codes and the Classification of Citizenship Identities

A number of studies explore how citizenship identities are differentially constructed by both schools and young people depending on class, gender and race. These constructions reveal cultural values and moral codes ascribed to different identities. They highlight tensions and contradictions between egalitarianism and inequality in Western democratic conceptions of citizenship and youth (Helve 1997).

Kennelly & Dillabough (2008:494) for example assess the ways that young people "articulate narratives of citizenship in relation to their social class and youth subcultural positioning in the global city." Kennelly & Dillabough (2008: 494/5) utilise Bourdieu's (1984) concept of the "classification struggle" to explore the cultural meanings generated by economically marginalised young people about their everyday experience in an urban inner city school, alongside accounts of citizenship, selfhood and belonging (Kennelly & Dillabough 2008:498). Four researchers engaged in joint projects and ethnographic observation in a classroom with 24 low

income young people aged 14-16 in an inner city school in Vancouver in Canada over a period of six months (Kennelly & Dillabough 2008:498). Kennelly & Dillabough (2008:502) note how young people classified the "illegitimate person" or the "deserving subject."

Lister et al (2003) note differences in participant responses associated with gender, ethnicity and class. Class is defined by the researchers as "insider" status (young people pursuing a graduate route to employment) or "outsider" status (young people with few qualifications and a record of unemployment). "Respectable" citizenship is linked by the young people to having an income, a home and a family. Citizenship is understood then as an identity which the young people in Lister et al's (2003) study do not always feel they have a right to either as a consequence of their "outsider" status or because as young people they have not yet acquired the attributes of "respectable" citizenship. The concept of citizenship then can be seen as exclusive as well as inclusive.

Lawson's (2001) small study which includes group interviews with pupils, finds that pupils with lower educational expectations are encouraged to participate in community projects. However academically successful pupils feel less inclined to be involved unless they see it as strategically useful for future employment and to include in their CV. Lawson suggests that the expectations of citizenship may be differently framed for different pupils. Faulks (2006:60) also argues that the notion of teaching a "common citizenship with democratic values" is undermined by both the multiple interpretations of citizenship education likely in the eclectic range of publicly funded educational establishments; and the fact that private schools are exempt from the national curriculum and therefore the requirement to implement citizenship education.

Gordon et al's (2000:195/7) study notes differentiation in relation to gender and race in the processes and practices of schools. Particular boys tend to dominate space, time and voice while other boys and girls are on the margins. Sexuality is also highlighted as an informal form of exclusion or inclusion amongst pupils. They also

note tension amongst pupils from different ethnic groups. They suggest while differentiation and processes of marginalisation associated with class, gender, race, physical ability and sexuality are taking place in schools these are often explained by both teachers and students in terms of ability, achievement, personality and family background.

There are very few studies in the UK context that specifically consider ethnic minority young people's experience of education for citizenship. Mac An Ghaill and Haywood (2005) explore 60 young (aged 16-18) Bangladeshi's experience of transition to adulthood and compared their responses with 40 white young people living in the same area. Although this is not specifically about citizenship they did consider participants' transition through education. The young people highlight cultural stereotyping in school alongside a lack of understanding in relation to cultural differences. A number of young women highlight complex issues of gender, race and class in the way they experience teacher attitudes. For example girls said teachers might assume that Muslim women are more intrinsically oppressed, or that teachers prefer "posh girls, Asian or white," that they prefer Asian girls who embodied a more Western style or they expect the girls to do better than the boys. Osler and Starkey (2000) argue that it is essential that citizenship and democracy in schools are situated within a context of cultural diversity and on the basis of human rights. They point out that while multi-culturalism may be advocated as a desirable aspect of society, educational programmes can fail to include white pupils in their consideration of multicultural issues. In addition to making the mistake of treating "ethnic minorities" as a homogenous group the same may be done with white pupils.

These studies illustrate that young people have plural identities and emphasise the significance of a cultural understanding of citizenship which takes account of how social inequalities might shape young people's construction of citizenship identities. The production of differential citizenship status is also linked to different cultural contexts as considered in the next section.

3.5 Social Change and the Impact of Contemporary Culture

A recurring debate in the citizenship literature is the issue of location, identity and belonging particularly in relation to culture, nation and the effects of globalisation (Osler 2000, Lawy and Biesta 2006, Haste 2006). Osler & Starkey's (2005b) review of citizenship education across Europe suggests that one of the reasons motivating education for citizenship relates to a need to promote social cohesion in the context of globalisation, and a desire to combat both social injustice and the rise of anti-democratic or racist movements. This view is supported by the CELS report (Keating, Kerr et al 2009) which highlights an ongoing UK policy interest in promoting political literacy through citizenship education in addition to a new emphasis on community cohesion with the development of a new strand in citizenship education in England - *Identities and Diversity: Living together in the UK*. The changing policy emphasis reflects political concern to combat the rise of extremism in local, national and international communities (Keating et al 2009).

Kennelly & Dillabough (2008:495) argue that young people identify themselves in western societies in relation to "contemporary practices of consumption" and "the associated aspirational status that certain forms of consumption imply." These practices mark but also mask class hierarchies which are also signified by spatial location. An aspect of this is sorting "friend from foe" in order to disassociate themselves from those with whom they might be negatively associated. In other words the young people distinguish themselves from people who live in the same areas as them and which they recognise to be socially deprived and culturally devalued. They describe how racially marginalised youths could be constructed as "terrorists" by their peers and argue that contemporary cultural anxiety or moral panic about "the foreigner" are part of a cultural landscape within which young people must negotiate their own identities.

Kennelly & Dillabough (2008:506) contend that

Young people are utilising the global language of the neo-liberal state and the local geographies of quite new social class relations (or classifications) to draw strong identity boundaries around themselves and others. They do so in an attempt to keep

themselves separate from their 'foe' or enemy, often taking the form of the 'foreign other', despite sharing broadly similar classed spaces.."

Haste (2004) maintains that much of the research on citizenship has assumed stable societies. However she points out recent social flux, including the emergence of new nations on the global stage which highlight differing cultural conceptions of "democracy"; and the emergence of "Third Way" politics which together with the rise of "emancipatory politics" in Western democracies cut across the traditional left-right political spectrum. Haste (2004:415) suggests that these changes challenge the idea that "beliefs are static, enduring attributes of the individual" and that ideology is a preset pattern of thinking leading us instead,

...to view the individual as an active being constructing and co-constructing with others - explanations and stories that enable him or her to make sense of experience, and to develop an identity in a particular social context.....If we want to understand how children develop those motives, skills, concepts and social practices that foster "good citizenship," we must look at what kinds of experience engage them (Haste 2004:415/6)

In relation to education for citizenship, Haste (2004:433) argues that *identity* is central to engagement, that a young person must experience ownership of an issue, must define oneself as a member of a group and holder of specific beliefs. She highlights the significance of "*positioning*" in other words how a young person positions 'self' in relation to other people, marking sameness and difference, a process that is in constant negotiation. Haste (2004:434) also emphasises *narrative* "as a form of knowing which counters the paradigmatic, linear and factual....takes account of stories...in the acquisition of knowledge, and....how narratives are pivotal to personal, social and national identity" Finally she advocates fostering *efficacy and agency* by engaging young people in decision making, according them the right and expectation to have their voice heard.

This section emphasises the significance of cultural context in young people's constructions and experience of citizenship. In research terms Haste's arguments suggest that in order to understand how and why young people engage in "positive" citizenship practices it is important to listen to young people's ongoing narratives of how they construct identities and position themselves in relation to others.

4 Implications for this research

The statutory obligation on schools to implement education for citizenship in schools is a relatively recent innovation in the UK alongside the theoretical explosion of literature on the subject. The studies reviewed here highlight a need for further research which specifically explores young people's constructions of citizenship identities in school from a youth cultural perspective, particularly from a Black and ethnic minority standpoint and also which focus on the Scottish cultural context. The studies reviewed emphasise the significance of young people being framed as citizens in the making rather than citizens now in shaping young people's constructions of citizenship which can:

- be fluid, multiple and wide ranging but conceived primarily in terms of identities and belonging
- be cynical of mainstream politics but interested in single issue politics
- reflect wider contemporary cultural values and moral codes
- reflect the cultural classification and differentiation of citizenship identities in relation to gender, race, class, age, disability and sexuality
- reflect tension between autonomy or agency and control or conformity in school approaches to citizenship education

Haste's (2004: 415/6) argument that "we must look at what experiences engage [young people]" supports the research emphasis highlighted here on the importance of listening to young people's everyday cultural narratives of (a broad conception of) citizenship in school to explore what meanings they ascribe to the practice of citizenship (e.g. Lister et al 2003, Hall et al 1999, Weller 2003, Kennelly & Dillabough 2008). This reflects what Lister (2007: 55) has described as "the growing interest in everyday life - 'lived citizenship'", and what Hall & Williamson (1999: 2) call "the meaning that citizenship actually has in people's lives and the ways in which peoples social and cultural backgrounds and material circumstances effect their lives as citizens" (quoted in Lister 2007: 55).

Following on from these arguments I do not, in this study, seek to explore how far education for citizenship is achieving success in shaping civic minded attitudes and behaviours amongst young people (Keating et al 2009). I seek rather to understand young people's meaning making in relation to self-in-society as citizens now rather than citizens in the making. By exploring young people's everyday lived experiences of citizenship and constructions of identity as citizens in the cultural context of school I aim to uncover the impact of school culture on young people's sense of citizenship. The studies highlighted here raise key questions which require further conceptual and theoretical consideration. What conception of "youth" will inform my study? How should I understand the influence of contemporary culture on young people's constructions of identity? What theoretical frameworks will help me unpack young people's classifications of cultural value in relation to self and others? How should I make sense of young people's conformity or agency in relation to the influence of cultural values and moral codes? What theoretical frameworks will help me make sense of how young people's diverse identities, in relation for example to their age, class, race, gender, sexuality or disability, might inform their constructions of self as citizens? Section Two unpacks the conceptual and theoretical framework that informs my study and addresses these questions.

Section Two: Constructing the citizen - Theoretical background

1 Representations of youth

Research reviewed in Section One notes the significance of conceptualisations of "youth" on the meanings and purposes ascribed to educating young people for citizenship. Adolescence has traditionally been seen as a transition period in the life course which has been characterised variously in psychology literature, by storm and stress (Hall 1904), rebelliousness and irresponsibility (Winnicott 1964) and a search for identity (Erikson 1968). The term youth has been preferred to adolescence by social constructionist accounts which see youth or young people as shaped by the culture in which they live (Griffin 1993). Griffin (1993:12) suggests that the "discovery" of adolescence generally associated with the work of G. Stanley Hall at the beginning of the 20th century reflected "a particular combination of discourses around 'race', sexuality, gender, class, nation and age which were very much rooted in a specific historical moment." However Hall's conception of adolescence as a "life-stage" in human biological development characterised by emotional turmoil, "storm and stress," has continued to be influential (Griffin 1993). Media representations of young people for example continue to construct young people as a social problem (Osler and Starkey 2005b, Griffin 2003).

Morss (1990) argues that prominent theories of developmental psychology that followed Hall (e.g. Piaget 1947, Anna Freud 1958) have predominantly implied universal markers of human development and in so doing have suggested a hierarchy of developmental progress. Morss (1990) contends that even prominent explanations of adolescence that aimed to take account of cultural influences such as Erik Erikson (1950) and Margaret Mead (1928) were also based on biological interpretations of human development. The implication of such analyses, Morss (1990:4) suggests, are relationships of inferiority versus superiority. Tests of educational or cognitive development for example offer legitimacy to an idea of unitary rational subject whose development can be measured against a conception of a chronological norm (Venn 1998). Walkerdine (1998) maintains that teaching and learning practices are

saturated with assumptions of sequential child development. In this way children and young people are differentiated and measured against a "gold standard" of the "normal" child (James et al 1998:19). In addition all children and young people can be found lacking because in comparison to the adult, they are not fully developed (Morss 1990). Valentine (2000:258) suggests that the spatial segregation of children and young people from adults into institutions such as the school and the playground have reproduced this hierarchical relationship between adult and child. The prolonging of young people's education and the changes to welfare provision largely denying young people access to welfare benefits have increased young people's dependency on their parents (Valentine 2000, Furlong & Cartmel 1997). Valentine argues that this contemporary process of what she calls "familialisation" reinforces childhood as a separate category from adulthood understood primarily in terms of children's dependency.

A range of writers critique the empiricist and positivist tradition in developmental psychology arguing for an approach which takes account of the ways in which knowledge (e.g. about individual subjects) is socially produced and influenced by relations of power. Henriques et al (1998) for example reject the idea of a unitary rational subject arguing that the subject is historically and socially produced through signification, power relations and "the re-production of systematic difference" (Hollway 1998:227). James, Jenks and Prout (1998) argue that childhood is a social construction that is not a natural or universal feature of human groups but visible as "a specific structural and cultural component of many societies" (Prout 2005: 59). They also describe childhood as a variable of social analysis, which cannot be divorced from other variables such as class, race and gender and argued that children should be recognised as active participants in "the construction and determination of their own social lives" (Prout 2005:60). Children and young people then should not be understood as always in a process of becoming adults who are, it is implicated, fully formed. Children and young people are beings in their own right. In citizenship terms they reflect the argument that children and young people need to be seen as

citizens now rather than citizens in waiting (Lister 2007, Cohen 2005). Jenkins (2008:17) also argues,

Identity can only be understood as a process of 'being' or 'becoming.' One's identity - one's identities, indeed for who we are is always multi-dimensional, singular *and* plural - is never a final or settled matter

This challenges the idea that children and young people develop an identity which becomes static as an adult. A heterogeneous conception of youth is supported by Lesko (1996:471) who argues for a "non-essentialized" conception of age, a non-linear view of time and the importance of making visible "the material structures and constraints within which teenagers live."

We must disturb the tidy psychologizations of teenagers as rebellious, emotional or hormonally-driven with sociological studies that demonstrate children and youth as multi-faceted social participants and knowers. Such studies must also reflect upon the conceptions of children assumed or utilised (Lesko 1996:472)

These arguments demand that we should not conceptualise "youth" as a universal category but rather that young people should be recognised as having multiple identities. In this account young people are recognised as "social participants and knowers", active agents then in constructing identities (Lesko 1996). In addition identities are not fixed immutable categories but culturally embedded, constantly in process and related to social relations which assert sameness and difference (Jenkins 2008:21). This study aims to explore contemporary young people's constructions of identity as citizens. If we understand identities as culturally embedded then key features impacting on the contemporary Scottish cultural context are significant. The next section considers how the contemporary social context might shape diverse young people's everyday life experiences and impact on their constructions of self.

2 Young people, identity and contemporary social change

Changes in Western industrial societies are said to mark a late or second modernity in which identities are much more transient and fluid than in the past (Giddens 1991,

Bauman 2001 Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2001). Individual identity has been seen to take on new significance in the context of a culture of individualism or individualization, and in relation to political demands for recognition of diverse identities (Giddens 1991, Beck 1992, Beck & Beck- Gernsheim 2002, Bauman 2001, Rose 1999). Young people are frequently positioned at the leading edge of contemporary social change and citizenship studies in relation to young people have highlighted the significance of cultural context in young people's everyday constructions of citizenship identity (Hall et al 1999, Furlong and Cartmel 1997, Kehily 2007, Weller 2003, Hall & Williamson 1999, Lister et al 2003).

The demise of heavy industry as a source of economic wealth has changed the shape of traditional working class communities. The numbers of unskilled, traditionally male jobs have been drastically reduced. The British economy is now built on service industries and consumption rather than production (Bauman 2001). Young people are growing up in an era of globalisation where global power is able to remain fluid but political power remains rooted locally in nation states. Multi-national companies operate in an international labour market but individuals live and work locally in employment markets which are insecure and unstable. In general young people are much more likely than in the past to stay on in education beyond the age of sixteen extending dependency on adults and are most vulnerable to unemployment in a highly competitive labour market (Henderson et al 2007).

Beck (1992) has famously argued that people in the Western world live in a “Risk Society” a society in which people have a heightened perception of and focus on averting danger. Individuals experience the world as much more uncertain. A key feature of this for Beck (2007) is the increased sense of personal responsibility on individuals for their life choices and indeed the outcomes. Beck's argument suggests a cultural shift impacting on the way that people see themselves and construct identity. He describes this as “reflexive modernization” and argues that individual behaviour and lifestyles can no longer be predicted using concepts like social class (Beck & Beck Gernsheim 2002). Society, it is argued, has become much more individualised.

A significant change impacting on individuals is the changing labour market, which Beck & Beck Gernsheim (2002) argue has three dimensions - education, mobility and competition. They point out that education rewards individual achievement and provides individuals with credentials that direct individual opportunities in the labour market. A quasi-market was created in education by enabling schools and colleges to opt out of local authority control to become more autonomous bodies and by giving parents more choice about which school their child would attend (Whitty 1997). School performance driven by parental choice, has been regulated and judged by the use of statistics such as numbers of pupils passing exams (Ball 2003). Schools and teachers can be under pressure to ensure they have a satisfactory placing on school league tables created by the media in response to the publication of exam results (Ball 2003). Education in this latter construction becomes, primarily, skills training for work and pupils become consumers who choose education based on its potential exchange value on the labour market. For young people this means that they must increasingly negotiate education as individuals rather than as part of a collective making them much more vulnerable when they fail to achieve qualifications (Furlong & Cartmel 1997:11).

In order to secure an income, individuals must be mobile disengaging them from secure locations. In addition Beck & Beck Gernsheim (2002) argue that competition compels people to advertise their accomplishments and the individuality and uniqueness of their work. The collective identities and associated resistance synonymous with working class communities built around heavy industry such as mining and steel have largely fragmented or disappeared. Furlong & Cartmel (1997:12) argue that while "the class based divisions that were the key to understanding educational experiences have become diluted," traditional forms of inequality remain entrenched.

Beck & Beck Gernsheim (2002) acknowledge that patterns of social inequality have not changed and the perception that individuals might have greater control over their

own destiny may be largely illusory but the process of individualisation encourages people to believe in their own individual responsibility for their life outcomes. As Furlong & Cartmel (1997:4) convincingly argue,

Thus while the structure of inequality remains entrenched, in our view one of the most significant features of late modernity is the epistemological fallacy: the growing disjuncture between objective and subjective dimensions of life. People's life chances remain highly structured at the same time as they increasingly seek solutions on an individual, rather than a collective basis

Bauman (2001:46/47) has similarly argued that individuals are encouraged to act as if they have sole control over (and therefore responsibility for) their life choices and outcomes but,

...individualization is a fate not a choice: in the land of individual freedom of choice the option to escape individualization and not to participate in the individualizing game is emphatically not on the agenda.

Valentine (2000:258) also suggests that children and young people are increasingly located within narratives of individualisation,

Young people now have independent entry into social and cultural life (through consumerism, fashion, leisure and so on) and as such are now confronted with many of the same risks and choices as adults; they are exposed to the same media as adults and addressed as economic actors (for example by advertisers) in a way they were not before.

Giddens(1991) agrees that late modernity is characterised by risk and insecurity which has impacted on individuals' sense of identity. He argues that trust is a crucial generic phenomenon of personality development. He suggests that trust links to achieving what he calls "ontological security". The latter is a "protective cocoon" which shields the self in its day-to-day dealing with reality. It allows a screening out of all the potential risks which if reflected upon might seriously inhibit active engagement (Giddens 1991:3). Trust in others, in the early life of the infant and, in chronic fashion in the activities of the adult, is at the origin of the experience of a stable external world and a coherent sense of self-identity (Giddens 1991:51). He suggests that trust, interpersonal relations and a conviction of the reality of things are integral to the settings of adult life. He points out that while repeated interactions and

responses of the other are necessary to sustain an observable/accountable world they cannot be relied upon. Even small differences in the ways we interact with each other can upset the stability of our perception of reality (Giddens 1991:52). Exploring the meaning of self-identity, he proposes that self identity cannot be defined by specific traits possessed by the individual it is: -

The self as reflexively understood by the person in terms of her or his biography
(Giddens 1991:53)

A stable self-identity, Giddens suggests, is achieved through a feeling of biographical continuity (past, present and planned future), which an individual is able to understand reflexively and convey to other people. That person is also able to screen out paralysing fear of potential threats to the integrity of the self and has sufficient self regard to value that integrity to see themselves as in control of their own actions. Giddens (1991, 2003) suggests that tradition and custom are being eroded by globalisation and in increasingly plural societies individuals no longer have identities ascribed by stable culture or tradition but are forced to engage in a "reflexive project of the self" - to choose identities from a range of lifestyle options (Giddens 2003:387).

These theories suggest that identity in the context of globalisation and social insecurity is no longer conceived of as something that one establishes and which therefore becomes fixed but rather something that might be adopted for a short period of time (Bauman 2001:148). Fixed identities now have been conceived to limit freedom and in a fluid social context the rational response, Bauman proposes, is to keep options open. Drawing on the work of Christopher Lasch (1979), Bauman (2001:150) suggests that people's lack of power to change their lives in ways that matter has led to an increase in activities associated with the self-help industry that Lasch describes as illustrative of a retreat from politics. Bauman (2001:151) also highlights diversionary and individual activities such as the rise in compulsive shopping. He argues that the recent social emphasis on identity reflects a desire for community absent in an increasingly individualised world. Bauman (2001:49) argues

..the other side of individualization seems to be the corrosion and slow disintegration of citizenship.....and if individualization spells trouble for citizenship and citizenship based politics, it is because the concerns and preoccupations of individuals qua individuals fill the public space, claiming to be its only legitimate occupants... The 'public' is colonised by the 'private'; 'public interest' is reduced to curiosity about the private life of public figures, tapering the art of public life down to a public display or private affairs and public confessions of private sentiments...

However Giddens states,

I take individualism by and large to be a healthy thing because it means people have more ability to be autonomous in their lives and to have a questioning attitude towards the world (Giddens, 2003:389).

Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (1996:29) have also stated

..people are being released from the constraints of gender....axes of (socially organised) difference, such as class, gender and sexuality (even life and death), are more a matter of individual decisions (quoted in Adkins 2004:192)

Giddens and Beck & Beck-Gernsheim's suggestion that people have more autonomy in choosing an identity is highly contentious. Bauman, Beck and Giddens describe a cultural shift impacting on the way that people see themselves and construct identity. In relation to highlighting a changing social reality that is shaping social fields these explanations are useful, however the suggestion that people have more autonomy in choosing an identity is more problematic. Although the ongoing existence of social inequalities is acknowledged, Bauman, Beck and Giddens appear to represent individualization as impacting on people in Western societies in much the same way. The individualised society may be more insecure for everyone and encourage all individuals to seek individual solutions to structural problems. However, experiencing a lack of educational success as an individual failure, for example, may be more of an issue for some young people than for others. Some young people will have more choices than others and choice can be experienced primarily as constraint when resources needed (e.g. economic, cultural and social capital) to exercise choice are in limited supply (Bondi and Christie 2000, Reay and Lucey 2003).

Arnot and Mac An Ghaill (2006) suggest that although the language of individualisation can be found in the language of young people this can act as "a mythologising discourse" hiding the continuing impact of social stratification. They argue that male domination and power are retained in schooling but in a different form. Arnot and Mac An Ghaill (2006:7) highlight the sidelining of gender equality discourses in schooling and the focus on discourses of performance pointing out the reality of vast disparities in educational experiences and opportunities amongst girls. Walkerdine et al (2001:4) also argue that,

it is social class that divides girls and young women in terms of their educational attainment and life trajectories.....The gains of the 1960's and 1970's have been shown to be ephemeral and it is wishful thinking, self interested or otherwise, to pretend that class has disappeared, either as a tool of analysis, or as a concrete fact.

Adkins (2004: 192) points out that reflexive modernity is sometimes represented as a freeing of agency from structure. Drawing on the work of Lash (1994), Adkins (2004:192-194) points out a difference in conceptions of reflexivity; first an objectivist account of reflexivity - a self-conscious reflexivity which is seen as distinct from "life worlds" which reflects Beck and Giddens model of reflexivity; and second a hermeneutic understanding of reflexivity which situates it "in-the-world." Pierre Bourdieu's (1984, 1989) conception of practice, his break with the dualisms of much social theory (i.e. structure versus action, objectivism versus subjectivism) has been related to this model of reflexivity (Adkins 2002).

Feminist theorists such as Diane Reay (e.g. 1997, 2004, 2005) and Beverly Skeggs (e.g. 1997, 2005) have applied Bourdieu's concepts to studies which like Walkerdine et al (2001) above, reclaim the significance of class in explaining the implicit ways that people both are categorised, socially and culturally elevated or demeaned, the internalising of class identities which can enable or inhibit self worth and 'free' choice. Identity is not then a reflexive project of a free-floating self but is intrinsically linked to structure, to social position and the power relations embedded in social fields.

Beck, Giddens and Bauman's theories illuminate a culture of individualism which is impacting on the social worlds of young people and therefore their constructions of identity. However theorists utilising theories of Bourdieu convincingly emphasise, in my view, that "individualisation" is differentially experienced and the continued significance of class in shaping identities. They suggest a need to more thoroughly investigate the everyday impact of culture on constructions of identity and self worth. I now go on therefore to consider the utility of Bourdieu's theories in relation to investigating culture.

3 Habitus, Field and Capital

Bourdieu (1984, 1989) argues that the ascription of cultural value is arbitrary, that the process of acquisition of values and "truths" is not always visible to the agent and therefore the reasons for cultural assimilation or alienation and socially and temporally situated positive or negative perceptions of self or others may not always be consciously understood. He contends that objective structures exist within the social world which are "independent of the consciousness and will of agents" and are "capable of guiding and constraining their practices and representations" (Bourdieu 1989:14). Further to this he argues that there is what he calls a "twofold social genesis" of "schemes of perception, thought and action" constitutive of - what he called "habitus", and also of social structures (or what Bourdieu terms "fields"), and of groups i.e. social classes. In his account the way actors are distributed in social space reflects both the amount of "capital" they have and the relative weight of the different species of capital they possess - for example cultural, economic, social or symbolic.

Bourdieu describes capital as accumulated labour, a social force that in embodied or objectified forms has the capacity to produce profits and to reproduce itself and which is "a force inscribed in the objectivity of things so that everything is not equally possible or impossible" (Bourdieu 1986:242). Economic capital underpins all the other forms of capital in that if an individual is rich they can more easily acquire

all the other forms of capital, and these forms of capital are essentially about maintaining the holder of economic capital's powerful social position. A young person from a wealthier family, for example, may have had a considerable amount invested in giving them a wide range of educational experiences. Social capital refers to the networks that a person can mobilise on his or her own behalf and on the volume of capital (economic, cultural or symbolic) that the individuals in these networks possess.

Cultural capital is described by Bourdieu (1986:243) as existing in three forms, embodied, objectified and institutionalised. The embodied form of cultural capital is reflected in patterns of speech, styles of dress, ways of standing, walking, musical tastes, food preferences and so on, all elements of what Bourdieu calls "habitus" which are acquired over time from birth onwards and so initially within the family. Objectified cultural capital describes material goods held by an individual which reflect cultural capital, for example the brands a young person wears or the perceived quality of the objects they possess - e.g. an I-Pod as opposed to an MP3 player - which presupposes economic capital i.e. they have access to money. The institutionalised form of cultural capital is that which is objectified into academic qualifications (Bourdieu 1986:247). Cultural capital then is both symbolic and material. The implication of the different forms of capital, for my study, is that when young people are trying to access available educational resources and hence the profits they produce (e.g. knowledge, articulacy or qualifications imbuing social status) this access is mediated by the relationship of competition between a young person and other young people who possess different forms of capital to varying degrees.

Bourdieu (1989:19) argues that the power of habitus lies in the thoughtlessness with which people engage in practices because they have become habituated rather than consciously conforming to social rules or regulations. This point resonates both with Gramsci's (1971) concept of hegemony, his argument that the dominant classes are able to rule by consent rather than force by instilling dominant ideology via civil

society (i.e. education, media, legal system) and Althusser's (1971) theory of ideology as representing "an imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence" - "bourgeois" ideology as he also saw it being embedded in family, religion, education, media etc. Lukes (2005:38) discussion on what he calls a "third dimension of power" also explores the existence of power as internal constraints. He argues that the most insidious form of power is that which prevents people from having grievances "by shaping their perceptions, cognitions and preferences in such a way that they accept their role in the existing order of things"(Lukes 2005:11)

In another register Foucault (1977) highlights the role of surveillance and what he calls hierarchical observation in disciplinary power. He utilises the concept of the panopticon, the ongoing possibility of surveillance to explain how people become self regulating and conform to standardised norms of behaviour. Although not the primary focus of Foucault's work, both Bourdieu and Foucault have developed arguments about dominating state power operating through the institution of the school which in Foucault's (1977:135) case produces what he calls "docile bodies" and in Bourdieu's case leads to "symbolic violence" unconsciously inscribed on the body in the form of a disposition (e.g Bourdieu in Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992:171). Although their overall analyses are significantly different both Foucault and Bourdieu consider the question of how the dominant power of the state secures compliance of the dominated and inhibits the free agency of the individual. Unlike Foucault however, Bourdieu's work focuses on social class and stratification - the ways in which socialisation and education work differently for different sections of the population (Reed-Danahay 2005:63).

Bourdieu (1989) suggests that cognitive structures are themselves socially structured because they have a social origin and that the construction of social reality can be a collective as well as an individual enterprise.

Habitus is both a system of schemes of production of practices and a system of perception and appreciation of practices. And in both of these dimensions, its operation expresses the social position in which it was elaborated (Bourdieu 1989:19).

Bourdieu (1989) argues that habitus is embodied in a person's style of dress; way of walking; talking and expressed preferences all of which will both encourage them to classify and subject them to classification, but only by others who recognize the social codes necessary to comprehend their social meaning. On this account young people can be expected to display characteristics or practices that offer evidence "of the structures of habitus which generate them" (Nash 1999) and which in turn influence the social field in which they are located and the structures of classification.

Habitus illuminates the way that young people classify one another and embody cultural classifications highlighting the already ascribed identities that young people bring into school. McRobbie (2009) for example has highlighted how young women regulate or police their own behaviour and appearance to ensure they conform to feminine cultural norms. McRobbie (2009) charts the reach of the commercial beauty industry in contemporary culture and the pressure on young women to conform to a traditional conception of femininity. Although young women are now encouraged to access the labour market, to educate themselves, McRobbie (2009) argues, this is only one aspect of a "new sexual contract." Drawing on Judith Butler's (1990, 1993) argument that the gendered subject is primarily constituted through action, she argues that young women must participate in the production of femininity, sexuality and ultimately maternity, prioritising consumption "for the sake of sexual intelligibility and in the name of heterosexual desire" (McRobbie 2009: 90). In other words young women must maintain the "social fiction of sexual difference" although "there is always scope for failure and [...] the need for repetition reminds us that femininity is never so easily secured" (McRobbie 2009: 62). Young women will embody a construction of femininity that conforms to a normative cultural narrative that they should not threaten the power of young men. Valerie Hey (1997: 135) makes a similar point in her study of girls' friendships, suggesting that girls act as guarantors for "appropriate identities" inadvertently maintaining "normative fictions of gender, race and class."

The ever present but absent "voice in the head" of dominant normative ideologies of white working class masculinity acts as a constant source of surveillance, bringing girls to heel (Hey 1997: 134)

As Reay (2004a: 437) notes "habitus is a conceptual tool that can be used to uncover how class, race and gender are embodied, played out not only in individual actions and attitudes, but also in a whole range of bodily gestures." Reay (2004a: 441) cites Charlesworth's description of working class masculine habitus as,

Characterised by a way of walking, of moving in space, of gesticulating, of swearing, joking, bantering, of laughing, eating, drinking and 'being a lad,' of being straight as a die', a 'rait lad', of being open to talk about the problems of life but which rejects excessive sentimentality (Charlesworth 2000:229/230)

Reay (2004a: 441) points out that habitus can be understood here as "a mixture of the embodied, the instinctual and the unthought."

Nash (1999: 180) illuminates Bourdieu's distinction between the concepts of habits and habitus pointing out that the latter "is linked to the idea that every act, or every cultural act, is regulated by a distinct Principal...whereas habit is not." Nash specifies that in Bourdieu's thought, Principals of practice have structuralist connotations.

The fundamental aim of Bourdieu's culturalism is to disclose the structure of Principals from which agents produce regulated practices, for that structure of Principals determines the objective character of culture itself. The habitus is thus a system of durable dispositions inculcated by objective structural conditions, but since it is embodied, the habitus develops a history and generates its practices, for some period of time, even after the original materials which gave rise to it have disappeared. The internalised Principals of the habitus are the Principals which structure the culture. (Nash 1999:184)

In this way habitus is linked to an individual biography or history; social influences throughout life, which become a durable way of being long after the original influences, may have disappeared. A key contention in Bourdieu's work is that habitus predisposes individuals and groups of people to behave in ways which classify them (to themselves and others) although there are no explicit rules that dictate behaviour. Skeggs (1997) study of working class young women illustrates this point when she highlights their dis-identification with being working class because it

is seen to invite "negative value judgements" (Skeggs 2009:37) . The white working class young men in Willis's (1977) study could mobilise a physically strong anti-intellectual version of masculinity as associated with their working class status.

Whereas working class men can use class as a positive source of identity, a way of including themselves in a positively valorized social category, (Willis 1977) this does not apply for working class women (Skeggs 1997:74)

Skeggs (2009:37) describes the working class young women's claim for respectability which she argues "is never an issue for those who are not positioned at a distance from it."

All the time you've got to weigh everything up: is it too tarty? Will I look like a right slag in it? What will people think? It drives me mad that every time you go to put your clothes on you have to think 'do I look dead common? Is it rough? Do I look like a dog?' (Anne 1992) (Skeggs 2009:37)

Drawing on her research with Helen Lucey, Reay (2004b:1019) has also highlighted how middle and working class children's classification of schools, expose well-rehearsed and embedded representations of class and race which demonised the 'ethnic other' and pathologize working class pupils as "roughs and toughs." Reay points out the way that working class children would repeat negative opinions about schools which implicate their own identities in stigmatized representations of pupils.

Indian Asif argues that 'you don't get a good education at Reecebrook because there's all these Bengali and Indian kids there', while Somalian refugee Sadiq asserts 'there are lots of bad kids in Reecebrook especially refugees' (Reay 2004b:1012)

Habitus conceived as a classifying predisposition, however, does not wholly explain why some people do not conform to a particular social classification (Schilling 2004). For example if a larger proportion of middle class than working class young people succeed in education this does not explain why some individual working class young people succeed in these terms and some do not. Reed Danahay (2005:56) points out that Bourdieu did acknowledge the existence of what he called "deviant trajectories" which would include a working class child rising in social status. However as Reed-Danahay (2005:56) suggests Bourdieu's use of this type of language indicated that he saw this as an exception,

..to what he believed was most often a smooth process in which social agents were inculcated with the right dispositions to fit their positions in society.

A criticism levelled at the concept of habitus as unconscious engagement with the external world is that this ignores reflective and creative aspects of practice in addition to the ethical choices or considerations which influence actions. In effect it is perceived to be deterministic - people are unconsciously inculcated with ways of being which influence their perceptions and actions in a manner which leads them to unconsciously reproduce cultural practices effectively maintaining the status quo and existing social hierarchy or power relations. Jenkins (2002:77), for example, takes issue with Bourdieu's emphasis on "the unconscious character of practical logic and the existence of dispositions as beyond consciousness" and his denial, as Jenkins sees it, of "conscious, rational, calculative decision making", he argues

It remains difficult to understand how, in Bourdieu's model of practice actors or collectivities can intervene in their own history in any substantial fashion (Jenkins 2002:83)

Bourdieu does not claim however that actors do not make conscious or calculated decisions, as Jenkins suggests, but rather his contention is that all the complex social, cultural and historical factors, in particular power relations, embedded in decisions, embodied in the decision maker and the context in which the decision is taking place, will not always be immediately visible to the actor. Reay (2004:439) states,

While it is important to view individuals as actively engaged in creating their social world, Bourdieu's method emphasizes the way in which "the structure of those worlds is already predefined by broader, racial, gender and class relations" (Bourdieu & Waquant 1992:144)

This latter point reflects Karl Marx' (1852:15) famous remark,

Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under circumstances of their own choosing, but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past.

Young people have agency and the capacity to resist dominant ideas but that agency or resistance is mediated by the circumstances or social field within which they are

located, the biography they bring to the context embodied in habitus, and the cultural codes already regulating social practice. How then might the social field of the school impact on young people's constructions or classifications of identities?

4 Social Structure, Social Space and the "Hidden Curriculum" in School

Bourdieu (1989) points out that social structure can be "hidden" in the use of social space. In other words social structures can shape social relations or interactions. The distribution and distancing for example of discrete groups of pupils throughout a school playground reflects complex differences in pupil status and power. Bourdieu (1989) suggests that agents have differing "fundamental powers" in the use of social space and these are economic, social and cultural all of which become symbolic capital when they are socially recognised as legitimate. Although he talks about groups of people as social classes he is clear in disputing any idea that a social class is a unified or fixed group. He argues that social space is constructed in such a way as to mean that people adjust to their position in social space, so that people sharing similar space may be likely to share similar dispositions and interests. Marx's mistake, he maintains, was in assuming that people then existed as a unified group or class (Bourdieu 1989: 17).

Class is a contested concept marked by difficulties about where the boundaries of social class should be drawn. Struggles over the classification of class are conceived by Bourdieu as an aspect of the class struggle (Crossley 2008). Bourdieu indicates that his concept of social class is closely linked to a theory of social space.

The construction of a theory of the social space presupposes a series of breaks with Marxist theory. It presupposes a break with the tendency to emphasize substances - here, real groups whose number, limits, members etc. one claims to be able to define - at the expense of *relations* and with the intellectualist illusion which leads one to consider the theoretical class, constructed by the social scientist as a real class, an effectively mobilised group; a break with economics, which lead one to reduce the social field a multi-dimensional space, to the economic field alone, to the relations of economic production, which are thus established as the co-ordinates of social position; and a break finally with objectivism, which goes hand in hand with intellectualism, and which leads one to overlook the symbolic struggles that take place in different

fields, and where what is at stake is the very representation of the social world, and in particular the hierarchy within each of the fields and between different fields (Bourdieu (1984) 2002:229)

He rejects the idea of social classes existing as unified groups arguing that they "become" this because social scientists or people who have a vested interest (e.g. trade union leaders) name or label them as such. Bourdieu highlights the Marxist distinction between a group of people defined by their objective conditions (a class-in-itself) and a group of people mobilised for struggle who define themselves as a class (a class-for-itself). He questions the "mysterious alchemy" whereby one becomes the other (Bourdieu (1984) 2002:233). Rather Bourdieu argues that agents' representations of the social world reflect a "class unconscious," a sense of one's place, as opposed to "class consciousness" in the Marxist sense (Bourdieu (1984) 2002:235). The ways in which people perceive and achieve a practical mastery of the social world as a whole is, he argues, essentially because they have incorporated the objective structures of social space and understand and *fundamentally accept* their place within it. People take their social world for granted because, he contends, perceptive dispositions tend to be adapted to position. Bourdieu represents knowledge of the social world and the categories which make it possible as the stakes in a theoretical, practical and political struggle over the power to transform or maintain the social world by "preserving or transforming the categories of perception of that world" (Bourdieu (1984) 2002: 236). He points out that the process of categorising, of making things visible and naming them; struggles over interpretation of the social world and the meanings of social identities are an ongoing everyday process visible in the ways that people communicate about and with each other. Reay's (1997) research draws on this conceptualisation of class as embedded in everyday social processes,

Drawing on the social theory of Bourdieu, I conceptualise class as encompassing complex social and psychological dispositions that interact with gender and race to inform and influence everyday practice.[....] Even when class is not overt and articulated in people's decoding of the social world, it is still there as part of the implicit, taken for granted understanding they bring to their relationships with others (Reay 1997: 225-7).

Schooling is a site of struggle over interpretations of the social world and the categories of perception of that world. Temporal constructions and socio-spatial practices in schools can embed and embody specific social power relations, ideologies or moral codes. For example schooling regulates children's time so that they must spend significant parts of their day in school and restricts how they use space and time within the boundaries of school. The development of classrooms as closed units, the layout of desks in rows with the teacher's desk and blackboard at the front, the enclosed playground and the parts of school that are designated for staff and out of bounds to pupils while designed as the best means to organise large numbers of pupils and create the potential for learning also create a context where both the morally "legitimate" and "illegitimate" exercise of power and control can take place (James et al 1998, Hearn 2008). An example of morally legitimate power might be a teacher taking responsibility for ensuring pupils listen in class and don't all talk at once. An example of morally illegitimate power might be a teacher or a pupil bullying such as verbally abusing or coercing someone who is in less powerful position as a consequence of, for example, a culturally devalued habitus or status.

McGregor (2004) points out that where schools were organised into classrooms teachers were given relative freedom from surveillance by colleagues but pupils became subject to the gaze of both peers and teacher. Classrooms are generally the space where the most dominant power is located with the teacher and can be embedded in specific areas of the room such as the teacher's desk. The corridors, toilets and playground, however may offer a relative freedom from contained surveillance for pupils illustrated by the eruption of noise when children leave a classroom. Within these areas the power dynamic will be between pupils. However there will rarely be any space within a school from which staff are formally excluded (Schilling 1991).

The fact that the use of school space is highly gendered has been well documented (Spender 1987, Walkerdine 1990, Schilling 1991). Boys tend to dominate both the teacher's attention in the classroom and the central space of the playground for their

games for example (Walkerdine 1990, Schilling 1991). Valentine's (2000: 262) study of pupil lunch breaks in school noted "a strong sense of gender opposition, boys versus girls" in the use of space evident in the way pupils occupied different playground spaces at lunchtime. School does not represent a neutral space for children and young people.

Giddens (1984 highlighted in Schilling 1991) has argued that structures are not fixed but determined by the way "actors" routinely draw on sets of "rules" and "resources" in the course of social interaction. Different groups will have differential access to structural resources such as material goods and services and differential capacities to organise and control resources meaning that some groups will be able to be more dominant than others i.e. those who control capital in relation to those who do not. Structural rules provide a set of "tools" for social interaction and inform common expectations about how people should behave in certain social and spatial contexts. Norms related to gender, for example, embody a wide assortment of rules about what is legitimate activity for boys and girls (Schilling 1991). Aside from the legal sanctions associated with rules enshrined in law, informal sanctions applied in everyday settings can be equally powerful in controlling behaviour. Boys and girls, white and Black pupils, middle and working class, disabled and non-disabled pupils sharing space in an accessible school delivers an ideological message about who is "in", who belongs. However a sharing of space does not in itself guarantee that a child or young person will not be just as effectively excluded within shared space as they were when they were physically outside it. "Rules" applied by peers within space can give children and young people a powerful message about whether or not they are socially valued, whether they "fit in".

McGregor (2004) has argued that curricular intervention in schools may give an impression of constant change which masks the durability of socio-spatial practices in schools which reproduce existing social relations. Dixon (2004) highlights how even young children are aware of the hierarchical implication of how space is organised. Describing the way that teachers will group children at desks by ability

and give each group names such as moles, foxes and hedgehogs she quotes a five year old who comments “once a Hedgehog *always* a Hedgehog” (Dixon 2004: 21 emphasis in original). Fielding(2000) points out that strict moral codes governing pupil and teacher behaviour are learned in the way they are told to use space. For teachers this might relate to implicit or explicit hierarchical rules about who sits where in the staff room (Paechter 2004) or the specified time and place for communicating with their head teacher. For pupils this might relate to the ways that individuals and groups of pupils are told to use space, such as walking on a specific side in corridors, the use of specific doors for entry and exit, the way they are seated in the classroom and the areas of the school that they must not go (Fielding 2000).

Both teachers and pupils construct and react on space in different ways and in this sense the boundaries of space are not rigid but permeable and dynamic. Schools contain a variety of conflicting rules and moral codes that pupils learn to negotiate but that will be conveyed to them both in the way they are invited to use space and the responses to how they react upon it. Valentine's (2000) study highlights physical size as significant in young people's use of space as children will be more physical than adults pushing and shoving each other. Physical size is also a critical element in marking out collective year group identities but also in the production of identities within year groups. Bodily variations are utilised by peers as a commentary on the "acceptability" of gender identities impacting on how girls and boys use space. While bodily appearance and shape is conceived as most important for successful constructions of femininity, heterosexual masculinity is strong, tough and physical encouraging boys to take up more space than girls (Valentine 2000:264).

Bourdieu's theories illuminate that the ways that young people's construction of citizenship identities in school space will be shaped by structure embedded in the social field within which they are located, in other words how much culturally legitimised capital and therefore power the young person and other adults and young people have in relation to one another. Bourdieu's theories are particularly concerned

to highlight the cultural reproduction of social inequalities as the next section will go on to discuss.

5 Cultural Reproduction and Resistance

Bourdieu (1986:243) developed the concept of cultural capital as a theoretical hypothesis to explain the unequal scholastic achievement of children from different social classes, challenging the view that educational achievement is the result of natural aptitude (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977). For example where young people's "habitus" or way of being matches the cultural "field" of the school then they will find it easier, they will be like a "fish in water" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). Others while sharing the same space might have experienced alternative cultural norms and therefore find it harder to fit in and to achieve in the school's cultural terms.

Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) argue that social structure embedded in social relations is misrecognised by actors. For example, as highlighted in section one, a study undertaken by Gordon et al (2000) found that teachers did not consider differences in class, gender, ethnicity and nationality between pupils when asked but rather ability, personality and behaviour. Gordon et al. (2000) argue that dichotomies in gender, class, ethnicity or nationality have become so taken for granted, so deeply rooted in thinking that they cannot be seen. They imply that teachers can still fail to consider the social, historical and cultural influences on learning and teaching viewing educational interaction solely in terms of the individual attributes (or deficits) of the pupils. Pupils in Bourdieu and Passeron's (1977) terms then may be misrecognised as educationally deficit rather than subject to "arbitrary" cultural barriers. Bourdieu of course has not been the only one to cover this ground. The relationship between school and structural inequality has been the focus for much theoretical excavation by sociological researchers such as Bernstein (1977), Woods (1976) and Bowles and Gintis (1976). The question of whether schools merely

reproduce and reinforce social inequality is a matter of ongoing debate (Meyer 1977, Marshall & Swift 1993, Giroux 2001, Apple 2008).

Boli, Ramirez et al. (1985), for example, contend that all mass systems of education tend to be "institutionally chartered" to be standardised, to be available to all diverse groups in society and to focus on the socialisation and development of the individual. They offer the concept of "universalistic individualism" as a counterpoint to theoretical arguments which propose differentiation as the key feature leading to mass education. In other words they challenge the notion that mass education is explicitly designed or primarily serves to reproduce social inequalities.

Meyer (1977) argues that while mass systems of education do legitimate specific social roles as elite, rather than merely reproducing what already exists, they also expand and legitimate bodies of knowledge for which society then creates personnel.

The point here is that institutionalised education does more than allocate some success and others to failure. The educated learn to claim specialised functions and to legitimate the specialised functions of others. The less educated learn that they are part of a social world of rights and duties elaborated far beyond the traditional community.

Social organisation requires that individuals take on differentiated roles. Education not only serves in the process of selection for those roles but also has a part in legitimating which bodies of knowledge and associated roles have social value. Meyer (1977: 70) further argues that mass systems of education have increased the numbers of peoples seen as "possessing human and citizenship responsibilities, capacities and rights." Mass education, he contends, expands the meaning of citizenship and nation, including obligations and rights and creates a public whose opinion, as education expands, becomes a vital force in society. Meyer (1977: 70) also points out, however, that while this can increase the possibilities for making demands for greater equality, it also "redefines individuals as responsible subordinate members (and agents) of state organisation, and opens them to new avenues of control and manipulation."

These theories suggest even if governments may wish to manipulate the population to accept current power relations through mass education they cannot always stipulate the outcomes. Roy Nash (2002:45) has highlighted Bourdieu's ambiguous relationship with realism in relation to schooling. For example he points out that on the one hand the function of discipline in school can be understood as the production of "schooling and obedient individuals ready to conform to the demands of the school, the workplace and the state" and in this sense the school can be understood as "an instrument of domination and oppression. On the other hand Nash (2002:45) argues that the habitus of the most successful students indicates that they have acquired a concept of self-discipline highlighting the need "to distinguish between the arbitrary and the necessary effects of disciplinary regimes." Nash argues the importance of distinguishing between the cultural arbitrary and the educational necessary.

In his own work, Bourdieu rarely more than hints, and then somewhat inconsistently, at the need for a universal pedagogy in which the implied necessary might be taught to all students no matter what their social origin (Nash 2002:46)

In other words Nash emphasises the importance of recognising the intrinsic value of becoming educated. In this sense he suggests that an emphasis on cultural reproduction and the struggle for social distinction may miss "the real social sources" of symbolic power.

It is not so much that the dominant classes legitimate their control through the possession of an arbitrary discourse but that they are powerful in so far as they are equipped with effective techniques of literary and scientific analysis with which the social and physical world can be understood and thus to that extent controlled (Nash 2002:46)

Paulo Freire (1972) famously argues that education could either be about conscripting young people to the logic of the existing system or about the practice of freedom, enabling young people to think for themselves. Like Bourdieu, Freire (1994) emphasises the significance of the popular culture of ordinary people but sees this as a resource, a starting point for an educational practice that encourages students to critically reflect on their social worlds, to gain "critical consciousness" (Giroux 2000). Mills (2008) argues that Bourdieu's theoretical constructs of habitus,

capital and field also have transformative potential in the context of school if teachers let pupils in on the "rules of the game." Disputing the conception of Bourdieu as deterministic or pessimistic Mills (2008:87) argues that "it is struggle not 'reproduction' that is the master metaphor at the core of Bourdieu's thought." The respondents interviewed, for example, in *The Weight of the World* (Bourdieu et al 1999) illustrate their active attempts to change their circumstances. Freire (1972) and Mills (2008) emphasise a role for education in encouraging critical reflection on dominant ideas and normative cultural practices.

Dominant ideas are not necessarily passively accepted or smoothly transmitted. As Gramsci's conception of hegemony helpfully acknowledges so called common sense conceptions are often contradictory and fragmented because an individual's ideas are not only developed from dominant ideology but also drawn from their own day to day experience (Hargreaves 1980:185). Studies have frequently shown that young people resist normative cultural and moral codes that do not serve their conceived immediate interests (e.g. Willis 1977, Mac an Ghaill 1994, Skeggs 1997, Ramji 2007). Paul Willis's (1977) seminal study *Learning to Labour* highlights how working class young men at that time do not passively accept an allotted social role. Their resistance to academic endeavour in school represents what Willis (2004:172) calls "penetrations," insights into social structure;

The masculine disdain for qualification, for all its prejudice, carries still a kind of "insight" into the divisive nature of certification, and into the way in which mental work and technicism are mobilised ideologically primarily to maintain class relations rather than to select the most efficient or to increase productive efficiency (Willis 1977:152)

Willis(2004) argues that "the lads" mobilise a traditional model of "macho" (sexist, racist) masculinity which constructs manual labour as more masculine, the more conformist pupils as "ear oles" and academic work as "sissy" allowing them to feel a measure of superiority over others , enabling self worth while essentially still being limited to exploitative low paid manual employment. In a sense "the lads" accept the class distinction between manual employment and intellectual work; deriding the

latter and positively (re)framing the former, in order to resist a negative conception of themselves - working class young men who do (or are consigned to) manual work. Rather than merely being passively inculcated with dominant cultural norms, Willis's (1977) argument, that actors (in his study, young men) do have some insight into social power relations is persuasive.

Individual actions may be driven in no small part by self interest and influenced by the context of the social field and the actors place within that field (Webb et al (2002). As the Willis (1977) study suggests actors will be aware of socially and temporally specific "rules of the game" and as Skeggs (2004a:85) argues will act to improve the perceived exchange value of the self

Yet for Bourdieu the habitus is not just subject to external forces/structures which organize within and with sometimes reverse impact, it is also a very explicit model of accumulation, based on knowledge of the game and how to play it. The objective forces somehow shape a logic based on exchange-value in which the habitus always works with a perception of future value and accumulation, showing how practice never ceases to conform to economic calculation, even when it gives 'every appearance of disinterestedness by departing from the logic of interested calculation and playing for stakes that are non-material and not easily quantified' (Bourdieu 1977:177).

Mac An Ghaill's (1994) study of masculinity, sexuality and schooling suggests that masculinity and femininity are always in a process of (re)construction by everyone.

Young people are active makers of sex/gender identities...Schools are crucial cultural sites in which material, ideological and discursive resources serve to affirm hegemonic masculinity, while producing a range of masculine subject positions that young men come to inhabit. Most importantly the students illustrate [...] that misogyny, homophobia, heterosexism and racism are not inherited in a unitary or total way. Located within local gender and sexual peer group cultures, they actively select from a range of socially oppressive constructs and in this process make their own meanings (Mac An Ghaill 1994:179)

Skeggs (2004) and Mac An Ghaill's (1994) point that young people act to improve the exchange value of the self, is supported by Ramji's (2007) study which illuminates how Muslim young people mobilise constructions of Islam perceived to enable cultural capital in the social field in which they are operating. This mobilisation of religion can be used where gaining cultural capital is difficult in other

ways as a consequence of racism or prejudice. For young men this can mean that they can use a conception of Islam as cultural capital which justifies men's dominance in the Islamic community and women's subordination. However the young women who participate in her study are aware of this construction of Islam and resist it, wishing to reclaim their own conception of Islam. Ramji (2007: 1182) quotes Naseema, a law student

I know what my religion says about women, and it's that we are equal

She points out that for Muslim young women,

Possession of ... Islamic cultural capital was, as it was for male respondents, an important identity resource in a racialized and classed British society (Ramji 2007: 1182)

While Muslim young women actively resist a conception of Islam that justifies the dominance of men over women, they also recognise their Muslim identity as giving them cultural capital primarily in the context of the Muslim community. Both genders, Ramji (2007:1175) argues, are concerned to define and attain "the Islamic cultural capital that they considered most valuable to them." Paul Willis (2000:4) argues

Culture is crucially about identity, but social and positional as well as individual and self inventing. Cultural identity is certainly about the maintenance of self as a separate and viable force, irreducible to institutional role, ideological definition or dominant social representation. But the meaning making involved is not free and open but intrinsically framed and constrained, as well as enabled, in specific and contingent ways, by powerful external structural determinations. It operates within material conditions and given or inherited formations of sedimented or textual meaning.

In Willis's terms then, the young people in Ramji' and Mac An Ghaill's studies are active in constructing the model of gender that they conceived as best serving their interests in response to the "material conditions" and "structural determinations" and the "given or inherited formations of meaning" with which they are confronted. These examples highlight the importance of the interaction between individual habitus and capital, and the nature and distribution of capital in the field encountered.

Where there is a lack of fit between habitus and field, between subjective and objective structures then Bourdieu argues that there is a greater possibility for critical reflection on cultural norms and the potential then for social transformation (Adkins 2004:197). For example religious codes adhered to at home for a young Muslim woman might not fit with secularist moral codes in the context of school; a young man's experience of traditional patriarchy in the home environment might not match with his friendships with girls in the context of school. Both the negotiation of discrepancies across fields of action and the creation of discrepancies by mobility across fields (such as for example the influx of Polish pupils to Scottish schools, girls in school football teams) creates the potential for critical reflection on habituated ways of being (Adkins 2004).

Adkins (2004:204) argues that changes in the way contemporary individuals critically reflect on gender do not necessarily signify a "detraditionalization" of gender but rather reflect a "habit of gender in late modernity." Arguing that Bourdieu lacks a fully developed theory of social change, Adkins suggests the problem lies in Bourdieu's assumption of a mimetic relationship between habitus and field, object and subject. Drawing on the work of Butler (1999) and Skeggs (1997), and reflecting the work of Willis (1977), Adkins (2004:206) argues that "subjects never fully identify with norms, [...] indeed there is an ambivalence at the very heart of inclination."

Although identities are in part ascribed by culture, young people are active in constructing identity in response to normative cultural practice, to achieve recognition either by accommodation or rejection, and perhaps in the process influencing culture. The next section considers the issue of recognition in relation to, the cultural capital ascribed to diverse identities, and debates about what is more significant in shaping citizens parity of participation - redistribution or recognition.

6 Redistribution, Recognition and Globalisation

Sayer (2005a) points out that human beings are characterised in part by their desire for recognition and self respect which can only be obtained by specific kinds of interaction with others. He also argues that recognition is not a luxury less important than material needs but is essential for well being.

Recognition matters to people, not just for their status in adult hood, but as a condition of their early psychological development as subjects, and for their subsequent well being. The vulnerability of individuals consists in their dependence on others not only for material support but for ongoing recognition, respect, approval and trust. (p54)

As Michael Unger (2004:127) put it in relation to his study of what he calls "high risk" youth, "sticks and stones may break my bones but names will *really* hurt us." Bourdieu's theories suggest that young people will respond to context in trying to assert a positive identity or indeed to avoid social stigma but that their identity is already ascribed to a certain extent by habitus, the cultural disposition that has been acquired since birth and the social and cultural relations of the field. Achieving recognition then is related in part to ascribed identity, and how far these identities -i.e. class, gender, race, sexuality etc - have cultural capital in the both the immediate social field and wider society.

The concept of recognition has become closely associated with identity politics and has led to debates about whether the focus and purpose of action for social justice should be redistribution or recognition (Fraser 1997, 2001, Butler 1998, Young 1997, Honneth 2001, Fraser & Honneth 2003). "The social justice agenda" is presented in educational policy as having particular importance in Scotland (SG 2008). "Justice" is advanced as one of the values on which "Scottish society is based" which young people should "learn about and develop" in school (HMIe 2006, SE 2004,). Debates about recognition and redistribution highlight both cultural change in relation to an increasingly insecure "individualised" consumer society (Beck 1992, Bauman 2001) and can be linked to contending materialist and post-structural explanations of society. Those on the side of recognition focus on the pursuit of a society where difference (e.g. sexuality, gender, ethnicity, disability) is assumed and welcomed

rather than equal respect being contingent on the assimilation of majority or dominant cultural norms (Fraser 2001). Further to this, post-structural theoretical explanations of social inequalities can focus less on material explanations and more on the role of language in shaping social life.

Judith Butler (1990:25) for example famously argued that there is no subject prefiguring gender identity, “identity is performatively constituted through the very expressions that are said to be its results”. This argument suggests that gender is constituted through repetitively acted out ideas about what it means to be a woman or a man in specific places and time (an urban street, a school), following models of deportment (ways of sitting, standing, looking) and using artefacts such as make-up, clothes, shoes, books or objects such as chairs or tables and so on (Rose 1989).

To be hailed or addressed by a social interpellation is to be constituted discursively and socially at once. Being called a "girl" from the inception of existence is a way in which the girl becomes transitively "girlled" over time (Butler 1999:120).

While Butler's concept of performativity disconnects gender from an essentialist or determined subject and focuses on the shaping properties of the discursive, Bourdieu's (1991) view is that it is not the act of language or discourse itself that is powerful but the cultural authority or legitimacy with which it is backed. Bourdieu's concept of habitus locates subjective disposition firmly in the social as influenced unconsciously by an individual's material position within the social field.

Butler's (1999) argument suggests that expressed femininity and masculinity are not representative of inherent characteristics but are learned behaviours, normative constructions of what it means to be a man or a woman. In this sense then all children have the capacity to express gay, lesbian or heterosexual identities. The reason that a gay or lesbian identity may in particular cultural contexts be suppressed is because of the norms of behaviour (indicating gay or lesbian identities are culturally unacceptable) that children unconsciously absorb dependent on their position in the social field. In this sense then the issue of cultural recognition cannot

be automatically reduced to an issue of economic inequality or mal-distribution although they are interconnected (Butler 1998, Fraser 2005).

Nancy Fraser (2001) argues that conceptions of a just society require the incorporation of an understanding of both redistribution and recognition. Fraser (2001:22) highlights a distinction in moral philosophy between questions of justice and notions of the good life, which she respectively terms "the right" and "the good". The "right" is aligned with distributive justice and questions of morality, which Fraser argues can be universally applied irrespective of individual values. In other words it is possible to have universal agreement that it is morally right that wealth should be fairly distributed irrespective of differences of, for example, moral, cultural and religious opinion about gay and lesbian sexuality. However the "good" is aligned with ethical claims for recognition of difference, which involve qualitative, culturally and historically specific assessments of value, which she argues cannot be universally applied.

Fraser (2001) is critical of what she calls the "identity" model of recognition, which argues for a valuing of group identities and an affirmation of group culture associated with these identities. She argues that this focus on a collective identity could ironically pressurise conformity to a group norm, "which denies the complexity of people's lives, the multiplicity of their identifications and the cross pulls of their various affiliations" (p24).

Misrecognition arises when institutions structure interaction according to cultural norms that impede parity of participation (Fraser 2001:24)

Sayer's earlier quote suggests that a lack of recognition or as Fraser (and Bourdieu) puts it misrecognition (not being accurately or properly recognised) does psychic damage. Citing Charles Taylor and Axel Honneth's work Fraser (2001:26) argues that in seeing misrecognition in terms of impaired subjectivity and damaged self-identity they see the injury in ethical terms as inhibiting a person's capacity for achieving a good life. Rather than an issue of ethics, however, Fraser advocates that recognition is seen as an issue of justice and therefore of morality: -

..it is unjust that some individuals and groups are denied the status of full partners in social interaction simply as a consequence of institutionalised patterns of cultural value in whose construction they have not equally participated and which disparage their distinctive characteristics or the distinctive characteristics assigned to them (Fraser 2001:26)

Sayer (2005b:947/8) points out that people with low incomes are not disadvantaged primarily because people fail to value their identity (though this may make their situation worse) but because they lack the means to live in ways which are socially valued and that crucially bring recognition and self respect. Although discrimination against women, people from ethnic minorities and disabled people for example can mean they are more likely to be poor, these are not a necessary pre-condition of being working class. You can be a middle or upper class woman, disabled person or person from an ethnic minority and therefore experience the benefits of economic capital. Sayer (2005a:35) however, further argues that "habitus" not only classifies phenomena but also values them. Being socially valued or not, he contends, contributes to human flourishing or suffering.

Fraser highlights, helpfully in my view, the simultaneous need to locate young people's meaning making in relation to economic inequalities (social class differences) and the social hierarchies of cultural value attributed to differing identities (gender, race, sexuality, disability) that may inhibit the equitable participation of pupils in the resources of a school. In the context of globalisation Fraser (2005) has also incorporated the necessity of considering the political issue of representation - the conception of belonging to a social collective in which individuals have the right to make justice claims in relation to one another. Essentially the issue that Fraser raises here relates to citizenship - the right to full political participation or engagement. This links to Martha Nussbaum's (2000:34) argument that while people may have constitutional rights they may not be in a position to exercise those rights.

The state that is going to guarantee people's rights effectively is going to have to take a stand about more than the importance of these basic rights themselves. It will have to take a stand on the distribution of wealth and income, the distribution of property rights, access to the legal system, in short the use of resources to guarantee what John

Rawls has called, the "fair value of the various liberties - for example, by raising revenue through taxation in sufficient quantity to make schools available to all...The argument from paternalism indicates, then, that we should prefer a universal normative account that allows people plenty of liberty to pursue their own conceptions of value, within limits set by the protection of the equal worth of the liberty of others (Nussbaum 2000:55)

Nussbaum argues that there should be certain universal norms of human capability, normative recommendations that cut across "boundaries of culture, nation, religion, race and class." In this she disputes relativist arguments, which suggest that in the interests of tolerating diversity, values should not be imposed on other cultures, which have different traditions for example. Nussbaum points out diverse cultural practices can be accommodated without also accepting harmful or oppressive practices such as forced marriage in the name of preserving cultural tradition. Nussbaum (2000:51) also disputes the contention that universal norms or values undermine people's freedom as agents, arguing that this in fact endorses the idea of one universal value "the value of having the opportunity to think and choose for oneself." To the charge of paternalism she points out that values may already be paternalistically imposed. The fact Scottish educational policy explicitly outlines the values that they would wish young people to acquire supports her contention. Nussbaum (2000:53) argues that it can be possible to reject some forms of paternalism "while supporting those that underwrite central values on an equal basis."

What Nussbaum is arguing here suggests that it is not enough to support, for example, the UN Charter on the Rights of the Child and state that all young people in a school have the same rights, because not all young people will be in a position to exercise those rights. Nussbaum, reflects Bourdieu's argument that people adapt to their sense of place, by outlining the issue of what she calls adaptive preferences the way people might adjust their goals or preferences to the limits of the life they have. An individual young person's "free" choice to leave school at 16 and for example engage in some form of vocational training may reflect what they feel is possible for someone from their class background rather than necessarily reflect their ultimate

academic capabilities (if they had experienced no cultural and social obstacles and could get all they need in relation to access to resources for learning). Nussbaum (2000:71) advocates a capabilities approach, arguing that citizens should be given a basic level of capability in core areas of human functioning so that they can be all they can be "as a necessary condition of justice for a public political arrangement."

Nussbaum's arguments in my view make a helpful link between Fraser's arguments, Bourdieu's theories and education for citizenship in addition to locating the issues in a contemporary global context. In other words Nussbaum highlights the need to locate young people's constructions of self and others in the context of social inequalities associated with cultural recognition of diverse identities, material class position and the contemporary impact of globalization. Her focus on a capabilities approach suggests a role for education alongside other key social changes.

7 Summary and Conclusion

The citizenship literature reviewed in Section One indicates a gap in studies which specifically explore young people's experience of education for democratic citizenship in school from a youth cultural perspective, particularly in the Scottish context. The studies reviewed highlight a tendency in educational practices related to citizenship to view young people as citizens in the making rather than citizens now, and indicate that young people do not use the language of citizenship in their everyday practice. Young people's constructions of citizenship invoke a fluid and wide ranging conception of citizenship linked mainly to identity and belonging. The studies challenge a conception of young people as politically apathetic and anti-social indicating that young people do have a sense of responsibility towards and interest in their local communities and have an interest in single issue rather than mainstream politics. The research reviewed invokes a conception of young people as having diverse and multiple identities and suggest that social inequalities will impact on young people's conceptions of socially legitimate citizenship identities. They also emphasise the significance of cultural location on young people's constructions of

identity and a tension between promoting autonomy or conformity in conceptions of citizenship education. Importantly a need for more studies which explore young people's everyday lived experience of citizenship is advocated.

Section Two of this chapter supports research studies which posit "youth" as a heterogeneous category, arguing that young people have multiple identities which are not fixed immutable categories but culturally embedded, constantly in process and related to social relations that assert sameness and difference (Jenkins 2008:21). Young people are "active agents" in constructing identities (Lesko 1996). Utilising the theories of Bourdieu this chapter also illuminates the impact of social inequality and cultural advantage in education. The educational goal of enabling every young person to reach their full potential may be undermined by the arbitrary ascription of a hierarchy of cultural value to differing identities over which young people have little control related to class, gender, ethnicity, sexuality or disability embedded in cultural norms which become so taken for granted that they become invisible. Bourdieu's (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977) argument that education's role in cultural reproduction serves dominant interests is supported by research which indicates social class background is still a key determinant of educational success (Reay 2004b, Ianelli 2008). Both Nash (2002) and Nussbaum's (2000) arguments indicate the importance of giving young people the opportunity to succeed educationally so that they can avoid 'adaptive preferences' gaining the capacity to exercise full citizenship rights. Mills (2008) and Friere's (1972) arguments suggest that this can be done in part through an educational practice which makes visible the cultural "rules of the game."

Beck (1992), Giddens (1991) and Bauman (2001) chart the development of individualization in contemporary culture, coinciding with post-structural theories which argue that knowledge is temporally, culturally, spatially contingent and wider identity claims for a valuing of difference. Reay (2004), Skeggs (2004) and Walkerdine's (2001) argument that it necessary to take account of the ongoing daily significance of class in the ways in which working class identities are repeatedly denied cultural value, convincingly makes the argument that contemporary cultural

change is not experienced by all 'individuals' in the same way. Nancy Fraser's arguments persuasively suggest that young people's meaning making should be located in relation to both redistribution - economic inequalities (social class differences) and recognition - the social hierarchies of cultural value attributed to differing identities (gender, race, sexuality, disability) that may inhibit the equitable participation of pupils in the resources of a school.

The contemporary Scottish policy interest in shaping pupil into "responsible citizens" and "self- confident individuals" reflects a conception of education as both shaping young people's constructions of self and offering moral guidance. Moral codes however embedded in the culture or ethos of a school can reflect a taken for granted "cultural arbitrary" and therefore the transmission of or response to cultural values, must be placed in the context of wider social, historical and political discourses of power and control.

The overall question that this study seeks to address is

- In the context of educational strategies aiming to promote responsible citizenship and self confidence via the culture or ethos of schooling - how do contemporary young citizens construct a sense of identity and self worth in the context of schooling?

This literature review has highlighted young people as citizens now rather than citizens in waiting and therefore the significance of their everyday lived experience of citizenship. Theoretical literature emphasises the influence of cultural context and the cultural value ascribed to diverse identities in young people's everyday lived experience of citizenship. This suggests a refinement of the one general question into three more detailed questions that this study offers a contribution to addressing:

- What can young people's constructions of identities in the context of Scottish schooling tell us about contemporary conceptions of a culturally valued citizenship in relation to classed, gendered and ethnic identities?

- What role does the much debated contemporary culture of individualism, globalisation and consumerism play in the construction of young people's citizenship identities in the context of Scottish schooling?
- In what way does schooling inculcate a model of a culturally valued identity and how does this correspond with the stated educational policy aim in Scotland to shape "responsible citizens" and "self confident individuals"?

The next chapter discusses the research design and methodology used to address these questions.

Chapter Three: Research Design and Methodology

1 Introduction

The last chapter draws on citizenship literature which suggests a gap in studies on education for citizenship which focus on children and young people's everyday lived experiences of citizenship in school. It offers a conceptual and theoretical framework through which three research questions are specified as follows:

What can young people's constructions of identities in the context of Scottish schooling tell us about contemporary conceptions of a culturally valued citizenship in relation to classed, gendered and ethnic identities?

What role does the much debated contemporary culture of individualism, globalisation and consumerism play in the construction of young people's citizenship identities in the context of Scottish schooling?

In what way does schooling inculcate a model of a culturally valued identity and how does this correspond with the stated educational policy aim in Scotland to shape "responsible citizens" and "self confident individuals"?

This chapter offers a rationale for and a description of the critical ethnographic approach used to investigate and address these research questions.

2 Methodological Principals

2.1 Why an Ethnographic Approach?

Education for citizenship and the promotion of self confidence are conceived to permeate the curriculum and ethos of a school (HMIe 2006). The purpose of this thesis is to investigate young people's everyday lived experience of citizenship in school. The purpose is not to test a hypothesis, prove a theory or to gather statistical evidence but to explore young people's cultural experience of school. Using an ethnographic approach best serves my purposes. Ethnography is a qualitative

approach that does not set out to test hypotheses but to explore social phenomena. It tends to focus on small numbers in detail using what Geertz has called “thick description” (Cohen, Manion et al. 2000; Rock 2001). Hammersley (2006:4) has pointed out the eclectic nature of ethnographic research but describes it in general terms as,

a form of social and educational research that emphasises the importance of studying *at first hand* what people do and say in particular contexts. This usually involves fairly lengthy contact, through participant observation in relevant settings and/or through relatively open ended interviews designed to understand people's perspectives, perhaps complemented by the study of various sorts of document - official, publicly available or personal

Ethnography's origins lie in social anthropology in which ethnography involved living full time in the communities of the people being studied and gathering data over the course of several years. Ethnography can focus on societies (common in anthropology), organisations or institutions such as schools (eg Hargreaves 1984) and subcultures such as adolescent subcultures (e.g. Willis 1977) or more generally human behaviour in the public realm (e.g. Goffman 1959) (Silverman 2001). Most recent ethnographic practice has focused on specific locations and has been much shorter scale. This, Hammersley (2006) argues often reflects the demands of academic research and the character of the societies being studied in that people do not live, work or indeed attend school in the same small locale. Hammersley (2006) argues that the danger of only observing a person in one context could lead to an assumption that their behaviour is only a product of a specific situation rather than who and how they are elsewhere. It is important then to consider the significance of what young people might bring to different situations as well as the social context itself. James (2001: 254) notes that the school is being increasingly used as a setting for ethnographic research for example into peer relations or the attainment of cultural knowledge, "for purposes other than the study of the educational process per se." James points out that the nature of the school setting is likely to influence the style and form of the research process and potentially the findings. This study is, however, specifically interested in the impact of the school setting on the attainment of cultural knowledge which in recent times has been expressed overtly as a key function of schooling for citizenship (HMIe 2006).

Rock (2001:28) has pointed out that consciousness is not static but is dialectical. A person confronts a problem in the world by acting on it and so learns about the world which perhaps changes their ideas and future action which then changes their ideas again and so on. When people talk about their experiences, then, these descriptions must be understood not as facts but as interpretations, which are then open to interpretation by the listener. The ethnographer develops an interpretation of the interpretations made by (in this case) young people of their own and their peers' experience. As Willis, drawing on Blumer (1954), points out,

the social sciences can hope only to develop "sensitising concepts" about the social world, approximate conceptions which are rough and always provisional guides to a changing and complex reality. Social science conceptions have to be fluid, not least, because the subject matter is comprised of, certainly in part, the views and thinkings of social agents themselves, if you like, deploying their own kind of "sensitising concepts" (Willis 2000:x)

An interview or a focus group offers the opportunity to hear young people's point of view about a subject in an artificially created context at a particular moment in time. While such information is useful it does not enable the researcher to judge the range of factors potentially influencing responses. Jenkins(2002) highlights Bourdieu's argument that research that consists of eliciting accounts from informants will produce a misleading picture of social life. People will respond to the interview situation by explaining or justifying their behaviour as well as describing it - Bourdieu calls these "official accounts" and they are problematic he argues because:

The taken for granted assumptions are left unsaid

The details will be left out - interviewees will resort to generalised explanations because they are talking to a stranger

The interviewees will wish to give a good account of themselves so will tend to focus on extremes - the best and the worst

Bourdieu suggests that actors cannot adequately reflect on their practice -

"informants cannot lay bare the Principals which structure the ongoing social situation" (Jenkins 2002:53).

Bourdieu's criticisms of interviewing as a social research tool advocate an approach which locates respondents' meaning making in a broader social and cultural context.

Interviewing is, however, also widely used in ethnography,

1) as a source of witness accounts about settings and events in the social world, that the ethnographer may or may not have been able to observe her or himself; and 2) as supplying evidence about informants' general perspectives or attitudes: inferences being made about these being made from what people say and do in the interview situation (Hammersley 2006:9)

Hammersley (2006:10) highlights a radical critique disputing these traditional uses of interviewing as an ethnographic tool arguing either that ethnography should solely be based on participant observation or that interviews should only be used "to explore discursive strategies and resources deployed there". Hammersley (2006:10) convincingly contends however that ethnography's traditional commitment to understanding people's perspectives cannot be assumed to be more easily understood from observation. His argument that the ethnographic strategy of making links between interviews and observational data - "for example in terms of a contrast between what people say and what they actually do" (Hammersley 2006:10) - mean that interviews should not, in my view, be abandoned. By engaging in repeated observations, meetings and informal open-ended interviews with pupils over a period of time, ethnography offers the opportunity to gain a more thorough understanding of young people's perspectives.

Alan Prout (2005) and Alison James (2001) have argued that ethnography offers a useful methodology for the study of children or young people as it creates more opportunity for the child or young person's active involvement in the production of knowledge. Ethnographies of young people acknowledge that their social relationships are worthy of study in their own right independent of adult perspectives or concerns. This argument is made in the context of their conceptualisation of childhood as a social construction rather than a natural phenomenon and the agency of children in shaping their own social lives. Children (under age 18) should be understood as beings in their own right not always in a process of becoming adults. France (2004) however argues that there may be dangers in solely concentrating on young people's "voice", that the voice of parents or professionals is important in

illuminating the broader social and cultural processes that shape young people's lives. France's (2004) point does not dispute the construction of children and young people as beings worthy of study in their own right but usefully highlights the need to explore the wider social and cultural context that may shape young people's meaning making.

2.2 Critical Ethnography

Ethnography has been criticised for only focusing on the particular, the micro and ignoring the macro, the broader social and political context impacting on individual experience and interpretation (1991). However this study's focus on citizenship or young people's location within the wider social and political context means that this element is particularly significant. Hammersley (2006) points out that the question of whether ethnographic study should focus on micro-analysis - what people do in local contexts, or take account of wider social context is subject to disagreement and debate. These disagreements extend to disputes concerning the nature of the larger social context within which studies are located. Ethnography, as Hammersley (2006:7) indicates, has been aligned with a range of different theoretical traditions "including functionalism, structuralism, interactionism and Marxism." I use a critical ethnographic approach.

Critical theory refers to a theoretical tradition developed by the Frankfurt school but is not a unitary approach (Kincheloe & McLaren 1994; Giroux 2001). It is based on dialectics - the interactive relationship between the individual and the social - and explores contradictions. Giroux (2001) argues that the dialectical nature of critical theory enables an educational researcher to see schools not just as controlling, instructing or indoctrinating but also promoting pupil empowerment and self-transformation. A key premise of critical theory is that meanings of an observation or an experience are not self-evident but will depend on a struggle over interpretation and definition. My research questions focus on exploring young people's interpretations. I wanted to try to make visible the ideological assumptions and power relationships present in the everyday experiences of the young people. This, of

course, must necessarily include my own ideological assumptions and power as researcher. Although by no means a uniform or homogeneous research tradition, I accept McClaren's (quoted in Gordon et al 2001) assertion that,

Critical theorists begin with the premise that *men and women are essentially unfree and inhabit a world rife with contradictions and asymmetries of power and privilege* (McLaren 1998:171 emphasis in original)

My study includes young people who are more likely to experience disadvantage. I do not claim however that the research is in any way empowering to the young people who take part or will change their social situation. It remains to be seen whether making an interpretation of these particular young people's (temporally and context specific) perceptions visible has any ultimate impact on social and cultural practice. The process of discussing their ideas with me may, however, encourage the young people to think about their own thinking.

Ethnographic researchers close relationship with the subjects of research is sometimes seen to be problematic because they cannot then provide an objective interpretation of social phenomena. Ethnographers would counter that in any social science research it is impossible to adopt the position of neutral outsider (Burawoy 1991, Kincheloe and McClaren 2005).

Today we understand that the researcher is not an objective neutral observer. We know that the individual is always historically situated, never able to give more than a partial rendering of any situation....Further it is now understood that writing is not an innocent practice. Men and women write culture differently.... (Denzin and Lincoln 2002:xi)

I acknowledge I do not come to research value free and that I have some power in reporting and interpreting what young people say. How can the reader know that I have provided an accurate or true representation of young people's perceptions and experiences? It is important to note here that the reader of any research data or findings is also not value free and how they interpret the findings will also be based on their prior perceptions and interests. Since it is impossible to be value free it seems important to problematize the process, to be transparent in the development of interpretations, both in written reporting and in dialogue with young people. There

may be many interpretations of truth so perhaps the point is to engage in critical conversation with the reader, although aiming to defend my ideological standpoint, interpretation and findings I also recognise that this position will be part of an ongoing debate.

3 Setting up the Fieldwork

3.1 Focussing the research

Hammersly and Atkinson (1995) point out that ethnography relies to a large extent on participant observation. The role of participant observer, they argue, can be very variable depending for example on how far the researcher seeks to become part of the cultural group they investigate, the way the activities the researcher engages in might shape perception of their role and how much is known by the different people being studied about the research. I am a mature woman investigating the experiences of young people. Clearly I cannot become an inconspicuous member of their cultural group. I agree with James (2001) when she suggests that differences between adults and children or young people need to be acknowledged. I am an adult meeting young people in a school context where adults are invested with power and control. I am also an adult who is not a teacher and who has experience of working with young people in mainly out of school settings. I have experience of a range of methods of engagement with young people. I have the potential therefore to build a different kind of relationship with the young people to that of other adults in the school and in their life. My view, in keeping with the ethnographic focus on "thick description," is that this can be done most easily by focusing on a discrete group of young people in one school and building a relationship with them over time. I decided on an optimum number of twelve as the most one researcher could get to know relatively well over the course of a school year. Also because I would be a visible presence, building a relationship with the school staff was also important. Focusing on occupying a space in which pupils, teachers and I could become mutually accustomed and therefore relaxed offered the opportunity to gather richer data and so would most usefully take

place in one school. Although not a young person as a local Scottish person I would to a certain extent have an "insider" status.

My research questions also demanded that I take account of pupil diversity in relation to class, race and gender. I therefore wished to target a school where I could meet a diverse pupil group. As the vast majority of schools in Scotland are comprehensive I did not envisage this as a problem. I decided to focus the fieldwork on a group of young people age 15-17 in their fourth and sixth year of a secondary school. I chose this age group because they would have experienced education for citizenship and the enabling of self confidence linked to health promotion, as a policy led embedded aspect of school culture since at least 2002. They were also at a transition stage in the life course when they were moving from child to adult status. This can be seen as an important phase in constructing identities and developing rational thought and behaviour (France 2004), and consequently is a useful time to engage with young people about how they conceptualise and respond to influences in and out of school.

3.2 Accessing a Fieldwork Site

I have lived, studied and worked in the area of Scotland in which my fieldwork takes place over a period of twenty five years. I consequently have many contacts in the field of community learning and development, social work and education. These latter three public service areas have been incorporated into a Children and Families department of the local authority. Although I do not have a background in school education, the overlap in service provision, in addition to my social networks in the field make my access to a school to engage in fieldwork easier than it might have been for someone coming to the area cold. In the first instance I contact two friends who work for Community Learning and Development. One gives me the number of her management contemporary who covers the area in which I am interested. I have previously met him, which helps when I contact him. He suggests various contacts and I pass on some preliminary information about the study, which he uses to find out who I should contact for local authority permission. My other friend gives me

details of local workers who I can contact and sends on information I pass onto her to her contacts. One is a local youth worker who I had bumped into and know from working with years ago. I meet him and a colleague, Eddie, who works with pupils from Rosefield Academy³.

I also contact and meet the Co-ordinator of a youth work project in a local area who another friend knows fairly well. His wife, Marie, is one of the contacts I had been given. Marie works in the Alternative Education Unit (the Base) in Rosefield Academy. By coincidence she is passing and gives me a lift to the Rosefield area on the day I meet her husband. During an informal conversation in her car, I discover Marie works in the Alternative Education Department of the school with Carrie, a friend of my sister. I arrange to meet them both. When we meet they introduce me to Patty the Principal teacher who is in charge of the Alternative Education Department and who suggests I do the research from there. Patty tells me to write to the head teacher but feels sure that she will agree to my request, which she does very quickly. I then contact the City Council's Education Department for formal permission to engage in the study. I am sent a list of questions to answer and asked to attend a short meeting. When I go to meet with the relevant person, she is based in a room with a couple of people with whom I have previously worked. The fact that the head teacher has already agreed to the study means that the council representative is positive about permission and it is duly granted.

The choice of Rosefield Academy is in some respects opportunistic as various chance meetings come together to enable my research to take place in this school. However several factors make it a positive choice. 1) The existence of the Alternative Education Base in the school and the style of work which takes place there offer a space where I can meet young people relatively informally and talk to them about my research. The Base has expressly not been established as a "sin bin," for troublesome pupils so a fairly diverse group of pupils attend and importantly it is not perceived by pupils as a punishment to attend. The research participants who are attending the

³ The name of the school and the names of all individuals associated with the school and the study have been changed to pseudonyms

Base at the time of the study are perceived to need additional support for a variety of reasons. Diane's father had died suddenly; Martha had taken an overdose after a period of depression; Darren had come into conflict with teachers and is participating in anger management sessions; Suri is excused PE during Ramadan; Peter has a very poor attendance record; Layla regularly comes into conflict with teachers and has been excluded from school five times; Sandra, Paul and Nina are perceived to be struggling academically in specific subjects and are attending a restricted timetable class located in the Base; Sunni never mentions why she attends the Base and I never ask her. Fiona and Freddie do not attend the Base but become involved in the study through their friendships with Sandra and Peter respectively. One of Sandra and Fiona's friends, Rhona, who participates in informal group discussions with me outside of school, also attends the Base for additional support associated with her disability. A youth worker, Marie, is attached to the Base and is supported by the community centre based youth worker, Eddie, who sees pupils in community settings outside of school. 2) My own background in both youth work and community learning and development mean that I am accustomed to working with young people in reasonably informal settings. I also have a long standing interest in the potential role of education in combating social inequalities. I therefore have a particular interest in gaining the perspective of young people who might have been experiencing greater than average challenges to getting the most out of school education. I could most easily meet some young people in this position in the context of the Base. 3) The school's constituency includes an area I know well, friends attended the school and friends' children currently attend or have attended the school. As I live during the course of the research in the community the pupils are very much part of my day to day life, passing my window on the way to and from school in the morning in the afternoon and during lunch breaks. The litter in my front garden increases considerably during term time as a consequence of this lunch time traffic. The park at the end of the street is a popular haunt for teenagers during the longer days of spring and summer. My knowledge of the area and the city mean I easily understand young people's references to place and use of space. I also have various chance encounters with research participants outside of school. From an

ethnographic point of view this means I am already embedded in the culture of the community. The familiarity of this is made strange by considering the community from the young people's differing perspectives.

3.3 Exploring Young People's Spaces

Ethnographic studies on young people highlight their heterogeneity and the fact that they do not grow up in a vacuum (James 2001). Children, young people, adults, are all representations of different time-spans in the life course. These representations are not universal and young peoples' life experiences are contextualised by the societies and cultures within which they live. I want therefore to take account of the multiple identities of pupils most obviously related to gender, race, class, sexuality and disability which impact on their experience of citizenship and self confidence. Boys and girls for example do not react in the same way to participation, do not have the same health issues, are not represented in the same way in advertising or indeed marketed the same products. Relationships within gender groups and between boys and girls may impact on their citizenship activity and sense of self worth. Different groups of (and individual) young people can be distributed in and act upon school spaces in different ways dependent on gender, class, ethnicity and physical ability.

Home environment and specifically parental influence is likely to make a difference to how pupils react to learning and teaching in the school context (Niemi and Junn 1998). I want to engage with the young people in the different spaces in which they learn in and out of school. This means observing them in different spaces within the school and to a much more limited extent outside of school. I observe pupils in corridors, playground, leaving and coming to school, in informal and formal classrooms. I meet pupils informally outside of school mainly by chance. Four of the pupils take me up on the suggestion that I arrange to meet them outside of school. Sandra and Fiona arrange for me to meet a large group of their friends on two occasions. Sunni and Suri take me on a visit to the central Mosque and I take them to see the University and the room where I work in which they have expressed an

interest. I mainly meet pupils or observe them, therefore, within the different spaces of the school.

4 Generating Data

4.1 The Research Role

As pointed out above I cannot be an unobtrusive member of the cultural group I am studying. In relation to pupils and staff I am never anything other than the woman who is doing research. I have no role in the school other than this, so, in the main, do not observe what is going on while I am doing something else. The positive element of this is that there is never any deception about what I am there to do. The negative element is that my presence can be uncomfortable for staff and possibly on occasion pupils because they are conscious of being observed. When I go into classrooms I am in general a silent witness. In a drama class I participate in games with the young people and wander round the class chatting to pupils. In the Base it is common to have various adults coming in and talking to pupils. I often sit in the coffee area and speak to pupils informally. I can also move around the Base and occasionally participate in more informal activities with pupils.

In more formal classes I sit and write field notes about what is going on in the classroom in a notebook. Sometimes teachers ask to see what I am writing and I show them. Pupils sometimes ask me who I am and what I am doing if I have not been formally introduced by the teacher or have not been given an opportunity to introduce myself. The young people participating in the study do on occasion seem uncomfortable when I sit in on their classes as they are clearly aware I am observing what is going on. Some of them deal with this by coming and talking to me. I deal with it by talking to them outside the context of the classroom about what I am doing before and after I am there. There are often adults sitting in on classes so in general other pupils seem fairly undisturbed by my presence. This might change depending on where I sit in the classroom, for example on one occasion I inadvertently sit next to a fairly powerful pupil.

As the school is very large it is not possible for me to be a relaxed unobtrusive presence in every space. Various spaces such as classrooms or departments are new to me and although they would have met me at least once, I am a relatively unknown presence to the staff. The study is focused on a discrete group of young people. I want to observe the spaces they go into in the school and their widely diverse timetables take them to locations and departments throughout the school. I do not find it easy to resolve the potential discomfort I create by observing a class, as I cannot easily fulfil an informal role in such diverse classes. My own discomfort in being an unnerving presence also adds to my decision to attend fewer classes than I originally intended. The experience is valuable however as I gain a powerful insight in relation to what it feels like to negotiate the range of spaces and personalities inevitable in a school of this size.

4.2 Establishing a relationship with the young people

My study is focused on a core group of twelve young people as the optimum number I could get to know reasonably well in the timescale. In the first instance I target young people in fourth year attending the Base and ask if they would be willing to participate in the study. I develop an information sheet incorporating a consent form that I give them to read (Appendix 2). The Base staff are supportive in giving me the opportunity to speak to young people. I am able to meet and chat to young people informally as the Base is an informal setting. Several young people I ask to participate in the study say "No". I am reassured that young people feel able to exercise their right not to participate.

Eight young people in fourth year, 3 boys - Darren, Peter and Paul - and 5 girls Layla, Nina, Sunni, Suri and Sandra, who attend the Base agree to participate in the study. Peter asks if his friend Freddie can be involved and Sandra asks if her friend Fiona can participate. They ask their respective friends to come and meet me in the Base to discuss the study and both Freddie and Fiona wanted to participate. Diane and Martha are two girls in sixth year who I meet in the Base and who I decide to

include in the study with their consent because of their specific experience of active citizenship. Diane volunteers both within the school offering peer support and in her local community in a Day Centre for people with learning disabilities. Martha had been an active participant on the school's pupil council and on a city wide youth council.

In the initial stages of the research I meet with the young people very informally. I chat to them in the coffee area of the main Base room in which there is a lot of coming and going of teachers and pupils. My aim is to get to know them and to give them a chance to get to know me. I am also given the opportunity to meet young people in a relatively confidential space where in general there are limited interruptions. I give young people the option of meeting me individually or with a friend or fellow pupil. As time progresses and the young people get to know me this arrangement might change. For example Peter and Freddie initially see me together but latterly see me individually often simply because they don't happen to be in school on the same day at the arranged time. The same is true of Diane and Martha but the reasons it becomes easier to meet them separately is because their relationship is not always friendly. Paul also includes a couple of his friends in later stages of the study. Sunni and Suri nearly always meet me together as do Sandra and Fiona but the latter two also include a large group of their friends in a couple of meetings outside of school. Sandra, Paul and Nina are all part of a group on a restricted timetable which means they have been taken out of specific classes in which they are not achieving academically to attend a group in the Base. In the initial stages then I meet different combinations of pupils from this small group such as Sandra and Paul together or Nina and Paul.

I find it useful to meet young people singly and with friends as the contribution of the young people can be markedly different in different contexts. I am able to get a sense of how the young people communicate with each other. Some young people can be much more relaxed and voluble in the company of friends encouraging interesting debate, for others the opposite is true. I come to this research with a

background in working informally with young people. I am able to draw therefore on various techniques of engaging young people in discussion about their social worlds. These are not formal interviews where the aim is to elicit responses to specific questions but ethnographic interviews where the focus is on trying to see the world as the young people sees it (Heyl 2001). For example I ask a young person to show me round the school to tell me what happens in different parts of the school. I ask a young person about the timetable, to explain how someone might go about choosing different subjects, what the difference is between being in first year or fourth year and so on. I say, for example, "I don't know what it is like to be fifteen in this school, but I am hoping you can help me understand." I acknowledge the young person's area of cultural expertise and ask them to teach me. Heyl (2001) argues that a key difference between ethnographic interviewing and survey interviewing is the time taken to develop respectful relationships.

When meeting with the young people I use visual prompts to assist the process of discussion. I take along flipchart paper, marker pens and post-its. I start my conversations with the young people with an exercise that has a specific theme and develop the discussion from there. I respond to the young people and if an exercise is not working I ditch it and move on. Although I outline the tools or exercises I have used here they are only important in so far as they facilitate informal discussion. Not every young person will do the same things with me when I meet them. It depends on the course of the conversation. Some young people are very voluble and have lots to say with little need for prompts whereas others appear to feel safer with a structure. All exercises and drawing are a stimulus to discussion enabling young people to talk about their perceptions of the world they inhabit. In the main I find that the young people enjoy working with coloured pens and paper. However for some young people whose literacy skills are poor or find drawing inhibiting, I might note down their ideas on the paper so they have their ideas affirmed and a visual prompt for further discussion. The tools or exercises I use are my school, my community, my social life; who matters and why; who is most powerful, good citizen/bad citizen and disposable cameras.

4.2.1 Exercise: My school, my community, my social life

One of the first exercises I ask them to do is to draw a rough map of the school. Then I ask them to mark with happy and sad faces the areas of the school they like and don't like. We then discuss their pictures. In other sessions I ask them to extend their map of the school to their community and likes and dislikes beyond school. I ask them all the things they think affect young people's health and their self confidence at school, at home and in their communities. I follow the young people's lead in conversation and begin to build a picture of the issues that might be important to them that I then investigate further in future sessions. As this is an ethnography I want to find out about youth culture about what matters to them - how they construct themselves as citizens. Also I find by talking about the things that interest them I sustain their interest in talking and in the process get to know more about their interpretations and perceptions of their social and cultural worlds. So for example in addition to talking about school life, Diane enjoyed talking about the music gigs she attended, Martha about her work in a well known cafe chain, Darren about extreme sports and so on.

4.2.2 Exercise: Who Matters and Why

I ask them to draw a series of circles one inside the other. In the middle circle they put the people they could not live without, in the next they put friends, in the next they put people that they know through school, or clubs or work but who they would not describe as friends, and in the next they put people who are paid to be in their life. We then have a discussion about how and why some people come to matter more than others. I make a judgement about whether or not to use this exercise as I know it can be threatening for some young people who do not want to reveal too much about the vulnerability of their home situation.

4.2.3 Power Exercise

I bring in post-it notes and asked them to write the name of different groups of young people in the school (e.g. Goths) on each post-it and then order them on a piece of flipchart dependent on the groups they think are most to least powerful. The same

exercise is done with adults in their life. We discuss how they know different people are powerful and where they would place themselves.

4.2.4 Good citizen/ bad citizen

I ask them to draw a line down the middle of a piece of flipchart paper and put a good citizen one side and a bad citizen on the other. I then ask them to list how they know which is which and if there were any specific groups of people they would describe as bad citizens or good citizens.

4.2.5 Photograph your world

A few months into the research I give all the young people throw away cameras and ask them to take photos of things that represent their day to day lives. My timing is wrong in relation to this as I give them out prior to a school holiday and by the time I see them again most of them forget to bring the photos or camera back in. However this technique does lead to interesting discussions with Suri, Sunni and Diane about their photograph

General discussion about school life and beyond, with less use for props or prompts becomes easier as the young people and I get to know each other. Also once the young people have a chance to get to know me and understand what the research is about I ask to record our meetings. I record at least three meetings with each of the young people. Sunni and Suri ask to hear their voices on the tape and I comply. I explain that only I or someone transcribing the recordings would hear the tapes. None of the young people object however on one occasion when the recorder doesn't work, Freddie reveals personal information that indicates a significant degree of trust in me and Peter who is also present. The fact the meeting is not being recorded may simply have been a coincidence, however.

5 Establishing a relationship with the teachers and the school

A key factor in enabling me to work effectively with the young people who agree

to participate in this study is the attitude and approach of the staff working in the Base. Patty, the Principal Teacher in charge of the Base is an English teacher with thirty years of experience of teaching. She comes from a working class background and therefore feels she can relate easily to pupils who may not have had access to as many resources for learning as middle class young people (Teacher Interview 3/5/07). She states that she loves her job, likes young people and is committed to doing the best she can for them. Many pupils respond warmly towards her and mention her as someone they value. The two other teachers who regularly work in the Base share her philosophy which is mainly about valuing the young people by listening to, taking seriously and helping them deal with the specific challenges they might be confronting that may inhibit their educational opportunities in school. The impression I gain from the pupils and from what I witness, is that many pupils feel valued and cared about in this context. The atmosphere is relaxed and friendly and pupils will often share humour with the teachers. There are however very clear boundaries. Pupils' comments and behaviour indicate an understanding that if they do not abuse teachers or fellow pupils in this context then they will be given a fair degree of trust. Teachers comment however that relationships are built up with pupils over time and are not always initially (or sometimes ultimately) positive.

Some pupils, who attend over a period of years presumably as a consequence of gaining support with personal difficulty, clearly form a very strong bond with the teachers. Some regular attendees of the Base have their birthdays acknowledged with a card and a present. Patty still meets pupils who had left the school many years previously and prior pupils pop back in to say hello.

Pupils of all ages and all backgrounds share desk space and the numbers present at any given time tend to be relatively small. Pupils therefore can gain fairly concentrated attention from staff. Pupils understand that there are always specific reasons why young people are attending the Base and I often overhear pupils asking each other why they are there. There are proportionately higher numbers of disabled pupils, or pupils from ethnic minorities than in the general school population but

relatively equal numbers of boys and girls. I come into the Base as the sister of a friend of one of the staff which means that I have a fair degree of goodwill from the Base staff. I do not, however, know any of them well and I have to get to know them. I often sit with them during break times and go out with them a couple of times to staff lunches. I share both a sense of humour and egalitarian sensibilities with staff in the Base. We like each other which makes things easier for all of us.

I always let them know when I am in the school and in general what I am doing. I never, however, repeat any of the conversations I have with the young people and the staff in general never ask me. The Base staff are amenable to me meeting pupils in the Base, whether or not the pupils are attending the Base at that time. As pupils see the Base as a positive unthreatening place to visit, this makes my research job much easier. Pupils rarely let me down. The incentive for pupils is the fact they get to come to the Base rather than attend a specific class. It is probably also fair to say that the young people in general enjoy our meetings otherwise they would not come. They get the chance to be listened to and to have their opinions valued.

I spend time going round the school meeting individual staff, explaining my study and asking for their permission to perhaps sit in on one of their classes. Generally this consists of a brief chat and most teachers agreeing that I can sit in on their classes. Some teachers impose minor conditions such as not sitting in on particular days because, for example, an assessment is being discussed or taking place. Occasionally a teacher wants to engage in discussion about the topic of my research. On the whole I find teachers very friendly but tend to find younger teachers more likely to say "no problem" whereas longer serving teachers convey greater mistrust, interrogating me more thoroughly about how the information I gathered was going to be used. This is perhaps because younger teachers are more recently used to observation for the purposes of their training as teachers whereas older teachers will have more long standing experience of a culture of HMIe surveillance and will have more reason to be anxious about the implications of observation (Ball 2003).

Mindful of taking account of the broader social and cultural processes that shape young peoples lives during the setting up phase I discuss the research with various professionals who work with young people in and out of school (France 2004). Prior to the fieldwork I engage in a group discussion with teachers seconded to the Scottish Executive to facilitate educational policy implementation, particularly in relation to education for citizenship and health promotion. This enables me to get a sense of the policy context informing these initiatives in school. Also in addition to observing exchanges between pupils and teachers, I interview the head teacher, 3 senior teachers, a teacher in her probationary year and two other teachers responsible for learning support. These interviews take place at the end of the fieldwork after the work with the young people is complete. I use these informal interviews to get teacher's perspectives on some of the issues raised by the young people and to get a sense of how they perceive the school to be educating for citizenship and promoting self confidence. I also collaborate with a youth worker on two friendship group work sessions' in a community centre setting outside of school.

6 Reflexivity

One cannot talk about such an object without exposing oneself to a permanent mirror effect: every word that can be uttered about scientific practice can be turned back on the person who utters it. (Bourdieu 2001:4)

Reinharz (1997) has drawn attention to the reality of the researcher or "the self" as the key fieldwork tool. This reality is significant in the context of Bourdieu's remark here illuminating how the vested and personal interests, social location and biography of a researcher can potentially be used to question the validity of their research findings. The natural sciences or quantitative research are sometimes conceived to deal with more objective factual data than the social sciences or in particular qualitative research. Bourdieu (2001) highlights, however, the findings of sociologists of science who contextualise the scientific research process, showing how the results of research are linked to social, temporal and cultural context

therefore contesting the concept of "scientific fact" and positing it as a social construction (eg Latour and Woolgar 1979).

As Bondi (2005:235) has argued,

...from a post-structuralist perspective, objectivity presupposes what it excludes, namely subjectivity, because objectivity depends upon human subjects exercising their subjective capacities. A clear distinction between subjectivity and objectivity does not stand up to close inspection, and proclamations of scientific objectivity are primarily about asserting the authority of certain kinds of knowledge.

Critical theory's challenge to the objectivity of research, as discussed in the section on critical ethnography, demands that the researcher critically considers their own power in research relations and in the production of knowledge. In particular how the data, findings or other products of research might be affected by both researcher(s) and the research process (Pillow 2003). The different ideological and theoretical positions taken by a researcher in relation to the nature of society will impact on their focus for study, the type of questions they ask and the underpinning theories of knowledge informing their analysis (Skeggs 2001). Bourdieu (2001:94) argues that social scientists need to apply reflexive rigour to their own practice by also becoming an object of research by considering "their position in social space, position in the social field and position in the scholastic universe....paying particular attention to the illusion of the absence of illusion, of the pure absolute "disinterested point of view." In other words the researcher needs to be careful about their assumptions, what they might take for granted. It has been important, then, to reflect on my own role in the research process as it has proceeded. My interests in relation to this study have been influenced by my own socialist and feminist politics - in simple terms my ongoing desire to consider the nature of, and develop strategies to combat, social injustice and oppression.

Like the young people I have multiple, shifting, identities that impact both on how I react and how I am received in specific situations. I come to research as someone who has spent many years working in solidarity with and providing services to people experiencing discrimination and disadvantage. I am comfortable and

confident working informally with young people and adults. I am less comfortable in the context of formal school classrooms where my only role is to observe. I find that in particular classrooms the experience is particularly resonant of my own Scottish comprehensive education reconnecting me with a vulnerable period in my own life. I do not like it and I am relieved to leave some classrooms. Bondi (2003) has pointed out the intrinsic link between thinking and feeling and has argued that the emotional responses of researchers offer an interpretative resource that can enrich analysis. My discomfort and sense of vulnerability in particular school situations, stimulated empathy with the relative powerlessness of young people in specific contexts provoking me to ask how they felt in specific classroom situations. I recognise that their experience would not necessarily mirror my own.

Ceglowski (2002) points out that ethnographic research is based on relationships and Reinharz (1997) argues the need for multiple selves in the field to accommodate the range of relationships and situations that might be encountered. In the course of my research I make relationships with both pupils and teachers. I am a white, Scottish, female with a Scottish accent. In this I share an ethnicity with the teachers in the Base and most of the pupils. I understand cultural cues and since much humour is based on recognition, I can share jokes. In this sense I can be an unthreatening, relatively comfortable presence. The Principal teacher's decision to welcome me into the Base is probably on some level related to my familiarity. I look and sound like people they know. Pupils who opt to participate in the study are mainly girls and the boys who participate all have strong relationships with their mothers. Although not a parent myself, as a female contemporary of their parents I can represent a fairly comfortable presence.

The inclusion of Suri and Sunni, two Muslim young women, in the study is useful in disrupting the idea of a universal Scottish identity, implicit in my taken for granted sense that I know what it means to be Scottish. The two young people I have to work hardest with to establish any kind of trust are Paul and Nina. Paul is a young man who had moved with his mother from England following the break up of his parent's marriage. Nina is at the time of the fieldwork being looked after by the Local Authority. Each of these young people have good reason not to trust adults.

It is hard to engage with people and not become emotionally involved even if only to a very limited degree. As Ceglowski (2002) points out it is also hard to anticipate how the researcher might be affected by or affect others. The generosity of both the young people and the Base teachers towards me is humbling. The relationships I make with teachers in the Base extend beyond the life of the research fieldwork. I maintain a relationship with the school and continue to attend the school as a volunteer mentor. This ongoing relationship with the school is stimulated by an ongoing worry that the school staff and pupils are offering more to me participating in my Doctoral research than I am to them. I want to give something to the school and the pupils, to feel that I have not just used them for research that probably serves my interests more than it does theirs. I give the young people a card that thanks them for their contribution and a twenty pound token that could be used for a book, film or music disc. I tell them I intend to return to them later to let them know what I find out. Shortly after completing the fieldwork, however, an ongoing medical condition I have, gravely deteriorates and I have to undergo a serious operation. My progress stalls and the time it will take to contact the young people who participate in the research is extended.

I do however bump into several of them in the interim and catch up with how they are progressing. Peter gets a message to me via a friend to let me know that he has left school and is doing well. I bumped into Sandra on the bus, Layla at a bus stop and Darren in the park. I find I am delighted to see them and to find out how they are doing. They matter to me partly as a consequence of the time I get to know them at the school and also because they stay a very present part of my life during the intervening time spent listening to the tapes of them talking and critically reflecting on all they say and do.

7 Organising and Analysing Data

7.1 Field Notes and Transcripts

I gather data partly by recording field notes. This is generally a record of what I see and hear on a day-to-day basis recorded either during or as soon as possible after occurrence. Field notes can be utilised by ethnographers in a range of different ways, depending on perceptions of the relative value of field notes. Emerson, Fretz et al (2001) suggest that while some ethnographers see field notes as the core of the ethnographic project, others suggest that field notes can interfere with engagement with the people in the field,

..some ethnographers maintain that detailed personal field notes provide little more than crutches to help the field researcher deal with the stresses and anxieties of living in another world while trying to understand it from the outside [.....] field notes may even stymie in depth understanding, getting in the way of deep experience, intuitive understandings and coming to grasp the "big picture." [...] From this perspective deeper understandings can get lost beneath "too many facts" or "too much detail."

I use field notes more comprehensively during the initial stages of my research before I begin to record meetings with pupils. I definitely feel an anxiety about "gathering data" and record notes in the initial stages, when I am mainly located in the Base, fairly randomly as a means to record all that is going on, unsure at that stage what might be significant and what is not. Teachers in the Base make jokes on occasion about what I am writing down in relation to how they might be represented in my notes. I joke that I am really working undercover doing an expose of them for a Sunday newspaper. Despite the humour taking field notes can provide a purpose, - or as Emerson et al. suggest, a crutch -, for me in contexts in the school that although assuaging my anxiety about having no clear role can potentially be inhibiting to the teachers and pupils in the contexts I am observing. This then impacts on the field notes I record although the impact I am having is also duly recorded.

In view of the majority time I spend there, I become a familiar and therefore less visible presence in the Base in a way that is not always true in other parts of the school. When I am engaged in activity with young people or teachers I am happy to dispense with the notebook and write up field notes later. Emerson, Fritz et al (2001) point out that the recording of field notes could undermine trust between the subjects

of research and the researcher. Ultimately because I never use field notes when I am engaged in an activity or meeting directly with the pupils who have consented to participate in the research, whether the meeting is recorded or not, the use of field notes does not appear to undermine my relationship with these key participants. Also because I never repeat to teachers what the young people say or what goes on in any of the classrooms I observe, I suspect this may cultivate the trust both pupils and Base teachers display towards me.

My field notes are recorded by taking fairly rough notes, usually on site or soon after, with specific things marked to remind me of incidents or events I want to record. I generally record who is there, what they look like, what is happening and what different people are doing or saying. I often draw a rough map of the layout of a classroom and where everyone is located. I then type up these field notes as a diary, which I expand and reflect on as I write. I write down what I learn and observe about the everyday activities of young people in relation to the themes of my study. In addition I record my own actions, questions and reflections on what occurred. These notes are saved as a computer file.

During some sessions in the school I primarily engage in a series of informal meetings with pupils, which are all digitally recorded. On these occasions my field notes are more limited and are written after leaving the school. I use field notes to record observation of classes and informal observations in other parts of the school such as corridors and playgrounds. As the study progresses I also plan and carry out two group sessions with 8 - 10 of Sandra and Fiona's friends in a local community centre the first of which is recorded only as field notes. I used a digital recorder to tape meetings with young people. The second session with Sandra and Fiona's friends also includes digital recordings of small group sessions where I take a cohort off to a separate room while the youth worker engages in activities with the rest. As mentioned I also interview a selection of teachers. Paid transcribers, in the main, transcribe all recorded interviews. I always review and edit the transcriptions because I can often recognise and hear conversation more accurately than it is sometimes possible for transcribers. I also remember specific body language or events that might have happened during a conversation, that I feel add to the communication. I can also cross reference interviews with field notes and pieces of reflective writing

using the memo function in NVivo. The process of writing field notes leads to some analytical insights as I progress.

7.2 Data Analysis

Pring (2000) describes theory as “..that cluster of beliefs and values which underpin our understanding of things and which become the premises upon which those explanations hang”. The young people in allowing me to observe them and have meetings with them, convey stories about their lives. In the course of this they reveal their own beliefs and values, their own theories about how they fit into their world. Plummer(1995) describes stories as symbolic interactions. He suggests that “stories are not merely texts waiting analysis but social actions embedded in social worlds”. Plummer (1995:144) makes the point that stories reflect the moral and political workings of societies in addition to having a role in changing them. The young people’s stories then reveal a picture of current social and moral codes and normative models of femininity or masculinity, sexuality and family life. Allan Luke (1995) also argues

An approach to critical discourse analysis can tell us a great deal about how schools and classrooms build "success" and "failure" and about how teachers' and students' spoken and written texts shape and construct policies and rules, knowledge, and, indeed, "versions" of successful and failing students (Luke 1995:11)

Luke uses the word "texts" to describe both speech and written text, describing the way texts are utilised to assemble and continually update our identities. By critically reflecting on how the young people speak about their worlds I am able to gain a picture of their perceptions of the identities they conceive as socially legitimized in specific contexts and those that are not. In this way pupil discourse reveals a picture of embedded power relations and highlights specific ideology. As noted in the theoretical background chapter Bourdieu's concepts of capital, habitus and field are particularly useful to me in not only analysing discourse or texts but also field note observations of dress, style, ways of talking, walking and use of space. I consider the impact of a social space, and pupil perceptions and my own observations of who and in what way a person has power or capital in a specific setting (Bourdieu 1989).

All field notes and transcriptions are entered into an NVivo project, which I find extremely useful for organising and easily accessing data. Sources are divided into field notes, pupil transcripts, teacher transcripts and pieces of reflective writing. I hold onto drawings and written recordings made by pupils during sessions and use them as a prompt on occasion to remind me of a session or to check a transcript. I develop a thematic coding frame entered into NVivo to organise my data, to reflect on the information this elicits and then refine or expand the codes (see Appendix 3). I develop the themes by reading and reflecting on transcripts and field notes and linking to the themes associated with self confidence, citizenship and the social world of a young person attending school. I am interested in how young people construct identities in relation to others and look for recurrent themes both in how young people describe themselves in relation to others and in how I observe them behave in relation to others. I listen and reflect on what young people say and then try to observe what they have talked about in a school space. As stated, this is a critical ethnography so I am interested in inequalities between pupils, who they see as powerful and how they make sense of power differences between pupils. NVivo allows me to easily code data into thematic "nodes" and to note the frequency of how often specific issues have been coded into particular themes. In this way I can review the relevance of specific themes I initially include in the coding frame. Since commentaries on specific issues rarely come up sequentially in transcripts or field notes, I use the query function in NVivo on occasion to check the frequency a topic is mentioned and to test an impression by reviewing what the young people or my field notes actually say.

I use the memo function to mark specific field notes as related to specific themes and as mentioned to link them to specific transcripts. This is an ongoing process and develops as I begin to write about my findings. Although organising the data into thematic codes using NVivo is useful in the beginning to analyse and critically reflect on the data, the process of writing and relating my findings to theoretical claims is most useful in terms of analysis. This often involves revisiting the data which I find as I proceed I might read in a new way which does not fit easily into any of my codes (Silverman 2001: 67). The coding frame then is used as a tool to organise and reflect on the data rather than establish a coherent structure for the Thesis. I write reflective pieces throughout the research process on some aspects of data relating my findings

to theoretical concepts which then influence the ongoing research process. In this way I begin to build analytical findings into coherent accounts. In this respect then writing is part of an ongoing iterative process of reading, writing, reflection and analysis.

Mason (2006: 148) suggests that data can be read in three ways, literal, interpretive and reflexive readings. Literal readings are most concerned with the literal content, the words and language used, the form and structure and so on; interpretive readings are concerned to explore what meanings can be inferred "reading through and beyond the data"; and reflexive reading which locates the researcher as part of the data generated. I use a combination of all three styles of reading the data. So for example I am sometimes interested in the actual language used by young people as offering evidence of, for example, a Scottish cultural influence. I am particularly interested in interpreting what meanings can be inferred from how young people talk about themselves and others, for example implicit references to class or taken for granted cultural assumptions about race or gender. I am able to use fieldnotes which record my own experiences or feelings about a situation as tools for analysis. For example the impact my presence has in effecting the course of a lesson is used to analyse teacher and pupil power relationships. I also aim to make explicit my critical theoretical standpoint in relation to interpreting the data .

In summary then I decide on what issues are analytically significant in relation to addressing my research questions, through literal, interpretive and reflexive readings of my data; by building a coding frame in NVivo which enables me to review the frequency and significance of specific themes; and by applying theoretical concepts in particular Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, capital and field, to develop coherent accounts of study findings.

8 Ethical Issues

I apply for and get Enhanced Disclosure for working with children and young people from Disclosure Scotland and the proposal is submitted to and approved by the Institute of Geography Research Ethics Committee prior to starting the research.

It is generally accepted that researchers should do no harm, that research on people should produce some positive benefit, that the values and decisions of research participants should be respected and that people should be treated equally (Murphy and Dingwall 2001). I spend time listening to and being around young people over an extended period of time who are potentially vulnerable and consequently could desire (and need) a high level of positive adult support. My experience in working with vulnerable young people means I know that it is not helpful to create the expectation that I am able to offer more than I can. While I value the young people I am honest about the limits of our relationship. While I am friendly I do not commit to long-term friendship, while I am willing to listen I am not a counsellor and while I am interested in them I am not there to champion their individual interests. I made clear to the young people that I was there to do research. The benefit they derived was in having an opportunity away from regular classes to talk about themselves and to be listened to. They were also given a £20 token but did not know they were going to receive this until they were given it. This gift was, therefore, not an incentive for participation and in this sense could not be said to shape the contribution the young people made in any way.

I am doing this research primarily because it interests me. The young people participating in the study did not request the research study or influence the initial aims but they do shape its focus as the study develops. I get a greater sense of what is significant to them as I engaged with the young people and this then influences the topics I discuss with them. One key criticism of research is that the researcher comes in, gets what they want and then leaves giving little in return to participants (Sikes 2006). I think that what the specific young people who participate get from the research is immediate - space away from classes to talk. As pointed out earlier however the concern that I am offering little in return leads to my ongoing involvement with the school although not specifically the young people who participate in the study.

McCoy argues that although researchers mean well “all research is to some degree surveillance” (McCoy 1998:6 quoted in Lather 2001:482). Reporting on young peoples strategies for dealing with the challenges and opportunities of contemporary life could be used for negative as well as positive purposes (Murphy & Dingwall 2001:340). Advertisers, for example, have notoriously ransacked youth culture to project images which might help them sell their products (Holt 2002). Participants however express little anxiety about being written about and although I make clear I aim to protect their anonymity particular young people are more interested in the possibility of some kind of public recognition for involvement. Peter, for example, talks about wanting his “15 minutes of fame.” In seeing research participation as an opportunity for fame and most importantly recognition the young people highlights both a temporally specific cultural context and an ongoing theme of the study - the young people's search for socially legitimised identities.

I wish to be sensitive to the young people's concern that something may be written that might make them an easy target for ridicule by their peers. I have not given the young people the opportunity to comment on drafts of the thesis primarily because in the first instance I would have found it inhibited my capacity to write honestly and secondly because of a concern that I have nothing that they might consider particularly worthwhile to feedback to them. It is made clear to participants that only I and the person transcribing listen to the recordings, their names will not be used, and that the recordings will ultimately be deleted. All photographs are returned to pupils and drawings and written recordings are kept with their consent. Observation in different parts of the school or in sites outside of school try to be as unobtrusive as possible to the young people who are the focus of the study. Other young people feature in observations and descriptions in the study, who are not one of the core group of participants, and who did not specifically agree to take part. The same care to preserve anonymity has been applied to these young people.

8.1 Consent

The research is targeting young people aged 15 - 17 years who “as long as they have the maturity to form a view” are old enough to consent independently to participate in the study (Masson 2004)⁴. When I meet the Base staff at the school they suggest I look at files outlining the circumstances of around 12 of the pupils and choose which ones I want to approach based on the type of young person I want to study. I say I would rather that they are all given information and they decide whether they want to participate or not. It is explained that I might then end up with too many and may then be confronted with the difficult situation of turning young people down. It is perceived that this would be difficult for the young people involved and might be experienced as rejection. In the event this is not an issue as when I reached my maximum number of participants I simply stop asking young people to participate. Young peoples’ consent is sought in the context of the school where young people traditionally have little power to refuse what adults ask them to do (David, Edwards et al. 2001). I also have to acknowledge that I have some investment in them agreeing to participate. However, young people did feel able to say "No." One disabled young woman, Rhona, that I ask says she is sick of people asking her questions. Although I explain that I am not specifically interested in her as a disabled person she declines to participate. However Fiona who does take part turns out to be a close friend and Rhona does ultimately participate in a couple of group sessions as a member of Fiona and Sandra's friendship group.

Time is taken to verbally explain the study to young people and to answer any questions that they have. Every effort is made to make information accessible to each of the young people by using plain English and talking through what is written. Literacy skills could not be assumed. It is unnecessary in the event to produce and make available information and consent in accessible formats such as large print, on

⁴ Research based on observing children's activities (under 16) at school or at play does not involve any “transaction having legal effect” even if the child is engaged in making or recording the observation (Masson 2004:49)

computer disc or using graphic images. Oral information is given and explained in simple terms.

It is, in the main, only necessary to seek young people's consent for participation in the research once. Permission is sought from Sunni and Suri's parents for the visit to the University and the Mosque during school hours. It is made clear to the young people that they can opt out at any stage. They are given age appropriate written information. A consent form, which they are asked to sign, is read through and discussed with the twelve key participants individually to ensure that they understand and that their agreement is informed. Two of Paul's friends participate in a group discussion and are given information sheets and complete consent forms. Ten of Sandra and Fiona's friends take part in two group sessions at a local community centre and all are given information sheets and consent forms. However some young people who appear in observations and descriptions of events in school in a way that is unanticipated do not specifically consent to participate in the study. Although their anonymity is protected and they know I am engaged in research, ethically it seems important to avoid using field notes which draw attention to their involvement in published articles. I make it clear to young people that if they tell me anything that implies that they or someone else under 16 is at risk of abuse then I have to tell someone else to ensure that they are protected from further harm. I familiarise myself with the school's child protection policy. In addition to obtaining the consent of school management, staff and local authority education department, permission is sought from relevant staff to engage in observation of activities in their classrooms.

A summary report of findings will be produced in plain English and distributed to all participants. A copy of the completed thesis will be made available to the school and the local authority Children and Families Department. Oral presentations may be made where requested or appropriate.

9 Conclusion

This chapter argues that critical ethnographic research methods are the most effective means of exploring a group of young people's everyday experience of citizenship in school. The promotion of self confidence and education for citizenship are conceived as permeating the curriculum and ethos of a school. This study investigates young people's experience of differentiated citizenship within school culture, the wider social, cultural and economic culture within which the school is located and the citizenship identities which are ascribed cultural value.

The difficulties confronted with this approach are linked to the fact that I cannot easily be incorporated into the identity group of pupil or teacher or even classroom assistant as I am not focused on a specific class. I therefore have a visible and obvious identity in the school as a researcher. The more informal approach of teachers in the Base has a pivotal role in making the research possible. In this context I am a less visible presence and teachers here treat me as a member of their team. In this context I am to a certain extent given an "insider" status (Silverman 2001: 58). Pupils are comfortable participating in the research because of the positive status the Base, where the research is located, has amongst pupils in the school. Pupils appreciate the fact they can on occasion justifiably get a short respite from attending classes to participate in meetings with me. This contributes to participation in the research being perceived as a bonus and a couple of participants saying that their friends are jealous. Pupils also can find seeing me preferable to sitting getting on with class work during a designated time that they are attending the Base. The respect and value attributed to the pupils contribution to the research is supported by the fact they are in general given private uninterrupted time with me in the context of the Base.

Pupils are less comfortable being observed in other parts of the school possibly because the image that they want to represent to me in the context of the Base can be disrupted in the context of different classrooms or informal settings. The researcher role in these contexts is therefore potentially an inhibiting factor in classroom action.

Teachers throughout the school are tolerant of my occasional presence in their classes and several including the head teacher agree to be interviewed. My sense is that I have more impact in some classes than others in terms of influencing the classroom dynamic. I am however able to use all research experiences as a resource for analysis utilising literal, interpretive and reflexive readings of data.

NVivo is extremely useful in storing and organising data and for assisting with the initial consideration and organisation of the data in relation to themes. However the iterative process of reading data, writing and applying theoretical concepts from writers in particular Bourdieu (as discussed in the theoretical background chapter) is most helpful in relation to developing coherent accounts of findings.

This chapter has introduced the key research participants who were asked and agreed to participate in the study. The next four chapters consider the thoughts and actions of these young people, their friends and peers in more detail in order to address the research questions. Chapter four considers classed identities, five - identities associated with gender and sexuality and six - ethnic identities. The organisation of these chapters into these themes stems from the data analysis. The young people's constructions of identity and descriptions of identity groups such as Neds, Chavs, Goths and Geeks highlight issues associated with the classification of class; their constructions of Emos and Plastics particularly illuminate issues associated with gender and sexuality; and both White and Muslim young people's constructions of identity highlight the significance of ethnicity in cultural belonging or exclusion. The final findings chapter seven considers the cultural location of the school and its impact on the young people's meaning making.

Chapter Four: "Neds, Chavs, Goths and Geeks" Classifying Classed Identities

1 Introduction

What is significant in the use of culture as a resource in self-making is how different forms of subjectivity are made available to different groups; subjects with or without value; different forms of subjectivity therefore constitute and display class differences (Skeggs 2005:975)

This study explores the production of citizenship identities by examining how young people construct their own identities as citizens in the context of schooling. Young people under the age of eighteen do not yet have full citizenship status such as an entitlement to vote or access to welfare benefits. A range of commentators have pointed out that although young people do not use the term citizenship in their everyday language, their constructions of self and others invoke a broad conception of citizenship which focuses on identity, belonging and relationships with others (Lister 2003, Hall et al 1999, Kerr 2009). In their exploration of the process of young people becoming citizens in schools, Gordon et al (2000:199) argue that the production of individual citizens takes place in the official, informal and physical school. This conception is supported in Scotland where citizenship education is understood as permeating the curriculum and the ethos of a school (Scottish Government 2008). In other words citizenship education is understood as encompassing the official, informal and physical aspects of school. This study concentrates on the cultural experience of school as constructed by young people. The focus in this chapter is in particular on the informal school, the cultural spaces inhabited by young people and where pupils construct and supervise their own conceptions of culturally valued identities. The shaping of citizenship identities are being understood here as embedded in everyday social processes and practices (Lister 2003, Reay 1997). The participants' stories reveal their engagement in a process of trying to establish an identity that enables self worth or self respect. Sayer (2005) points out that while also "deeply private", self respect is a "profoundly social emotion", he argues

..it is impossible for us to maintain the conviction that how we live and what we do is worthwhile if there are no others who appreciate our actions (Rawls, 1971,pp 440-1),

and the approval of others is crucial for our well-being, albeit particularly those we respect (Sayer 2005:155)

A significant aspect of this for young people is how they find a way to gain recognition from their peers and also how they (re)define the labels that are applied to them as teenagers. A primary pre-occupation of young people in school is the other young people in school. The young people talk about the range of youth subcultures operating in the school and the impact they have on them. In this chapter young people describe "Neds, Chavs, Goths and Geeks" and obliquely classify each other on the basis of social position or social class and in so doing classify themselves.

Class is a contested concept marked by difficulties about where the boundaries of class should be drawn. Bourdieu ((1984) 2002: 233) has highlighted the Marxist distinction between a group of people defined by their objective conditions (a class in itself) and a group of people mobilised for struggle who define themselves as a class (a class for itself). The demise of heavy industry as a source of economic wealth has changed the shape of traditional working class communities. An insecure employment market based on service industries and consumption has, it is argued, undermined collective working class identities which were previously mobilised as for example a class-for-itself via trade union action defending employment conditions (Furlong & Cartmel 1997:12). Beck & Beck Gernsheim (2002:31) argue that Western societies are much more individualised that "for the sake of material survival" people are forced to push ties to a social class into the background "to make themselves the centre of their own life plans and conduct." Individual behaviour and lifestyles, they argue, can no longer be predicted using concepts like social class. A series of other writers contend however that in the light of growing social inequalities a more nuanced understanding of class is necessary (Skeggs 1997, 2004, Reay 1997, 2004, 2006, Sayer 2005). Drawing on the work of Bourdieu they focus on a cultural analysis of class, "the everyday workings of social class" (Reay 2005: 289).

Bourdieu does not conceive a social class as a unified group of people with universal characteristics but rather a description of the way in which specific cultural and

moral values or properties are ascribed to groups of people on the basis of their shared relative position and status in social space (Bourdieu (1984) 2002: 233). None of the young people in this study spontaneously describe themselves as working class or middle class but their classification of their own and others identities highlight recognition of the differing social status or attributes ascribed to specific groups of young people from a shared social background. Bourdieu argues that agents' representations of the social world reflect a "class unconscious," a sense of one's place, as opposed to "class consciousness" in the Marxist sense (Bourdieu (1984) 2002:235). Bourdieu's (1984, 1989) theory of habitus provides a conceptual tool that helps make visible "how class, race and gender are embodied, played out not only in individual actions and attitudes, but also in a whole range of bodily gestures"(Reay 2004a: 437). By making an (often implicit) classificatory judgement of another pupil's social position, young people reveal an understanding of the relationship between embodied(styles of dress, speech patterns, demeanour), objectified (material goods) and institutionalised cultural capital and the relative value of a social position. This chapter suggests that young people's constructions of "Neds" "Chavs" "Goths" and "Geeks" and the ways in which they attribute these identities social value (or not) support the contention that class is embedded in everyday cultural processes in school. I will go on to argue that schooling's construction of a socially valued citizenship identity is implicated in these processes.

2 The classification and representation of working class identities

Bourdieu (1989) argues that habitus is embodied in a person's style of dress: way of walking: talking and expressed preferences all of which will both encourage them to classify and subject them to classification, but only by others who recognise the social codes necessary to comprehend their social meaning. "Neds" and "Chavs" are described as displaying characteristics and practices that offer evidence "of the structures of habitus which generate them" (Nash 1999).

I think it's what Ned stands for as well. It's kind of like non educated delinquent so you don't want to kind of be associated with being like sort of a problem and that. But I think probably a lot of people are quite scared of Neds (Diane 18/4/07).

The link established in the term "Ned" between a lack of education and delinquency is one that is repeated by several of the young people although there is some indication that participants perceive young people they define as "Neds" to have some difficulty achieving in education and that was why they cause "trouble".

The Goths are the clever ones because they're quiet and they know everything. They're good at everything but the Neds aren't very good at stuff and that's why they always get themselves into trouble because they just like give up. (Sandra - Sandra and Paul 7/11/06)

Sandra's sense that "Neds" "just give up" suggests an implicit awareness that for the people she defines as "Neds" education is more of a struggle than it is for "Goths" who are "the clever ones" and therefore education is easier. "Neds" are very clearly distinguished from Goths on the basis of their educational ability and their "troublesome" demeanour. The term "Ned" is included in English Collins dictionary and is described as Scottish slang for a hooligan (www.collinslanguage.com). The dictionary highlights the understanding of this term as an acronym for non educated delinquent, brought to public attention in a debate amongst MSPs in the Scottish Parliament in 2003, but disputes this definition suggesting instead it is just a name that has been associated with "hooligans". The fact that the young people in this study draw attention to their understanding of the acronym suggests that irrespective of the dictionary definition the former meaning linking a lack of education and delinquency is still applied. "Chav" is described in the English Collins Dictionary as a slang term for a young working class person who wears sports clothes which although making a clear link with class excludes the association some of the young people made in relation to Ned, with a lack of education or delinquency.

Young people describe "Chavs" in terms similar to this Collins English dictionary definition although the term "Chav" is understood by some young people as the English equivalent of the term "Ned". The fact that in this school both terms "Chav" and "Ned" are used perhaps reflects the visibility of the term "Chav" in the national

media. It also seems to reflect a wish, by some of the participants, to distinguish between the insulting uneducated or hooligan definition - also in particular young people of whom they are scared - and young people who are working class and wear sports clothes i.e. adopt the "Chav" style. However both "Chav" and "Ned" can be understood to be pejorative terms.

Moirira and Sandra are accused of being Chavs by the girls in Fiona's group. Sandra says "No we are not – how are we?" They say "You dress like Chavs." Sandra says "No we don't." I ask "Why is a Chav a bad thing to be?" They struggle to answer this but it seems to be related to disapproval about how Chavs dress and behave – acting as if they were "hard" etc. I ask about the difference between Neds and Chavs – Ella says "They are the same but Chav is the English word and Ned the Scottish" (Fieldnotes, Sandra and Fiona's friends 9/2/07).

All the young people refer to the presence of "Neds" in the school. Some of the young people use the term interchangeably with "Chav", while others make a distinction. For example Sandra (Sandra and Paul 7/11/06) suggests "they're practically the exact same" whereas Darren (9/11/06) asserts "Neds are evil, don't like them, and Chavs can be cool, and they are alright to talk to". Layla states that they are the same but she prefers the term "Chav" and describes herself as having been one when her Mum did not have much money and she could only afford to wear track suits. "I loved my track suits" she asserts (Layla 9/11/06).

Young people defined as "Chavs" or "Neds" are generally understood to come from poorer areas. Paul (7/11/06), who lives on a large council estate, comments, "Where I live there's usually Chavs instead of Goths." Paul's comment implies that Goths might be more likely to live in middle class areas.

I think people would think Neds would be [live in] council estates because they just like don't like anybody bar themselves, and they are really dumb and all they want to do is get into trouble. I think that would stereotype the Neds but Chavs, I am not really sure, 'cause I don't like – I don't have anything to do with Chavs really [.....] I mean Chavs, they are called Chavs because of the clothes they wear, its like Burberry and their jewellery, but Neds are called Neds because all they ever want to do is fight and get in trouble in school and just get completely wrecked. But Chavs, I have some Chav friends and that, they are really cool, it's just they're called Chavs because of their clothes. So that's how Chavs and Neds are completely different. (Darren 9/11/06)

Although referring to "Neds" specifically, Darren highlights, here, a negative view of people who live on council estates and then uses the term stereotype, implying that the characteristics he describes are labels rather than a factual description. Darren initially says that he doesn't have anything to do with "Chavs" but then later in the conversation acknowledges that he has friends who are "Chavs" but is keen to point out that they are decent people and are different from "Neds" who are "just evil". In this description Darren seems to be making an implicit attempt to point out that coming from a council scheme, in the way that he himself does, does not mean you are like the stereotyped negative image of "Ned". He also raises the issue of his vulnerability as a young man to physical attack or verbal abuse by his peers. Chavs", Darren argues, are alright but "Neds are evil". "Nobody likes Neds" he says. They are, he suggests, young people who are always looking to start a fight. He implicitly defines "Neds" as a group of young people by whom he feels threatened. A point reinforced by other young people,

Cause people are scared of like Neds and that's because they think if you look at them the wrong way you are going to get like glassed. And you think aye I'm going to get beaten up and that (Diane 18/4/07)

And in an informal conversation with two third year girls,

They talk about how Chavs and Neds criticise or "slag" them. I ask what they would describe themselves as and they say Goths. They don't dress like Goths but they "go to the Mission and stuff." Lily's Dad and her Uncle are bouncers there so they like to go. They say Chav and Ned girls are really loud and have to have their hair and their makeup perfect. "They stand in a part of the playground where there is a bit of shelter so they won't get their hair messed up" – this last bit is said by Lily in a sarcastic voice. They affect our confidence they say. Anna says "You are scared to ask the teacher a question because they will slag you." Leah says "Yes I don't feel very confident." I ask if Chavs and Neds are the most popular and they agree "They are the most confident because they are the loudest." (Field notes 6/10/06)

These working class girls disassociate from other working class girls who they call "Neds" and "Chavs". They use the terms "Chav" and "Ned" interchangeably to mean a group of girls who they find bullying and are perceived to be the most confident.

Like the other young people, the girls identify "Neds" and "Chavs" by their resistance to the formal structures of the school. This resistance is played out in

disruption of the formal classroom and the vilification of any pupil who is seen to actively participate in learning or to comply with the pedagogical purpose of the teacher.

3 Resisting Classed Identities

Class was central to the young women's subjectivities. It was not spoken of in the traditional sense of recognition - I am working class - but rather was displayed in their multitudinous efforts not to be recognised as working class.[...] There was a refusal of recognition rather than a claim for the right to be recognised (Skeggs 1997: 74)

The women in Skeggs (1997) study resist a definition of themselves as working class because they understand this to be a culturally negative representation. Young people implicitly classified by others as working class could similarly distance themselves from this identity. Darren, who because of where he lived and a series of angry episodes in school might have been in danger of being described as a "Ned" or a "Chav", is keen to distance himself from these labels. Darren lives on a council estate and regularly talks about having no money to engage in the activities he enjoys such as skateboarding. Darren likes to define himself as a "Skater" and says that his friends are mainly "Goths". Challenging Paul's earlier comment he argues that "Goths" can come from anywhere because all his friends live in council houses and some of them are "Goths". In maintaining this representation of himself and his friends, Darren appears to be resisting a stereotyped "Chav" or "Ned" image of working class young men. Many of the young people I speak to like Darren, embody a rejection of a media driven notion that working class young people who live on council estates fit the stereotyped negative image of "Chav" or "Ned".

Peter however, like Darren, highlights a distinction between "Chavs" and "Neds" suggesting that "Chavs" are smarter than "Neds" and perhaps come from better families and have parents who care about them.

...Chavs have kind of really nice houses, have nice families, not really the type of thing, and the Chavs kind of family are posh, well no posh but kind of worried about their child as well and they kind of encourage it, but the Neds families are just like... I can't say [council estate] because that's where I live with my Dad, but it's kind of what they use to be like in [council estate], and they always wore Carpa, that was the parents are like 20 years old and the grandparents are 30/40, whatever, really kind of

young. And its just bizarre because any parent can see its 'cause what they are getting from school, what the Chavs get from school, they kind of change...(Peter 23/4/07)

Peter like several of the young people understands that "Neds" are negatively judged and in fact tends to judge them negatively himself, but as Peter himself lives part of the week in the council estate perceived to have a negative reputation he resists saying this is where Neds currently come from but that they did in the past. Young people are very aware of the council estates that have a negative reputation and even the parts of council estates that have a negative reputation. They distinguish better parts where they live, from what Darren in one memorable example calls "Jakeville" - a "jakey" being a Scottish word for an alcoholic and/or a "down and out" i.e. homeless person. "Jakeville" in Darren's description is an area close to where he lives, where "a lot of people who takes drugs 'n that are and live." Peter implies that "Neds" don't come from "nice families" unlike "Chavs" who are not exactly posh but have parents who worry about their children and encourage them. Peter makes an implicit link here between "posh" and "nice", i.e. being better off implies being a better "nicer" person. Peter suggests that "Chavs" change at school.

Ned is kind of non educated delinquents, and Chav's are more gold chains, smarter than them. I don't mind them really, they are ok to me but they have got the attitude with other people, if somebody looks at them, its what you are staring at, its like what's the point, they try and have fights with anybody, like I hear some of the Chavs in my class and they are always talking about violence, or football, its like we jumped this guy and we absolutely battered him. It's like why do you want to talk about that (Peter 23/4/07).

Peter's conception of the term "Ned" as people who are uneducated leads him to make a distinction with "Chavs" who dress differently and are smarter. Although Peter frames "Chavs" as coming from "nice families" he suggests like several of the young people, that "Chavs", similar to descriptions of "Neds", want to fight people all the time.

M Do you think people who leave school earlier are thought of as bad citizens?

P Well most of the percentage are, I don't mean it to be nasty but they are bit Nedish, they are kind of like... usually what they want to be is something like plumbing or joinery and all that, which.., but I have got a friend who is not a Ned at all, he is the opposite of one, he is leaving and he going to work as a blacksmith, and he wanted to leave because he got offered an apprenticeship, which of course he is going to jump at, at the moment (Peter 23/4/07).

Peter's remarks here reflect the perception that traditionally working class occupations such as plumbing and joinery might have less cultural status than staying on at school and can be associated with working class boys defined negatively as uneducated, as "Neds". He then points out that in fact the reverse is true in his own experience someone he knows who is "the opposite" of a Ned is "of course" jumping at the chance of an apprenticeship. This boy is not extending his school education but is nothing like the stereotype of a "Non educated delinquent". Peter also describes his cousins as "not Neddish" because they are "quite smart" but "Chavvish" and that he "loved them to bits". Peter's remarks highlight a tension for working class young people in absorbing normative social values, which encourage the application of negative moral judgement and individualised explanations of educational "success" or "failure" on fellow working class people. "Neds" are working class people who are defined as delinquents but the working class people he knows and cares about do not fit this description. However an individualised explanation enables him to construct an identity which accentuates a distance between his own experience of being working class and the negative labels ascribed to others in his social class.

4 Language and Cultural Capital

Bourdieu (1986) describes cultural capital as embodied, objectified and institutionalised. An aspect of embodied cultural capital is in the use of language or patterns of speech. A style of speech is ascribed symbolic capital when it is socially recognised as legitimate. Several young people mention "Neds" and "Chavs" being distinguishable from other young people because of the way they talk using "slang words", or talking "Chavvy". When describing "Neds" or "Chavs" Sandra, Fiona and Layla cite UK popular culture representations of working class young women on TV comedy, in particular Little Britain's caricature, Vicky Pollard who uses the phrase "yeah but, no but" and Catherine Tate's caricature Lauren, famous for the phrase "Do I look bovvered?". Fairclough (2001) argues that although standard spoken English is represented as the language of everyone in the UK, it has become a class dialect in that the dominant group makes most use of it and it affords cultural capital in a way that working class accents do not.

The power of its claims as a national language even over those whose use of it is limited is apparent in the widespread self deprecation of working class people who say they do not speak English or do not speak "proper" English (Fairclough 2001: 48)

Fairclough points out that while there is resistance from speakers of other social dialects (such as in Scotland) and other community languages, the prevalence of standard spoken English as a written form and amongst people in positions of power in politics, the media and so on emphasises that the use of standard spoken English is perceived to confer social value. Certainly the implication from young people in relation to talking "Chavvy" is that this is not a "proper" way to talk.

..My pal is a plastic and her boyfriend stays in [Council Estate] and stuff like that and goes to [local] school and he speaks completely Chavvy and Neddy and we're all from quite big houses and are proper and stuff and he stays with his foster Mum and stuff but we don't care that he is from there. We're just like, so what we all have different backgrounds (Layla 9/11/06)

The use of the term "proper" here implies both moral respectability and perceived cultural capital, embodied in accent and objectified in "big houses." Layla's use of the phrase "we don't care that he is from there" conversely implies a lack of cultural capital associated with coming from a poor background. It is notable also that Layla specifically mentions the school located in a council estate with a negative reputation, in which the boyfriend lives, as a signifier of his "Chav" status. Layla, however, also resists interpretations of her own style of speaking as inferior in any way and objects to being judged on this basis.

If you've got a posh accent..., it's not really younger teachers, its older teachers. If you're really well spoken, not say your manners but if just you're really well spoken, I think the teachers have a lot more respect for you. Ken' they think she must be from a really good family, been brought up well spoken, got a good attitude towards school. But if like, see how I talk, like how I'm talking now, If I was speaking like that to one of my teachers, and one of them has said to me before 'you're not really that well spoken are you?' I am well spoken, I'll pronounce my words and stuff but I want to show people that I'm Scottish and I'm using the Scottish language because I always say 'ken' and 'aye' and stuff like that and it's like 'cos I just want to show people that I'm fae Scotland and this is how we talk. 'Cos like everybody from Liverpool and that, they use their own wee words and nobody degrades them. (Layla 9/11/06)

Layla makes a link, here, between ways of speaking and moral judgements associated with class, "a posh accent" being associated with "good" families and "good" attitudes whereas a colloquial or regional accent might lead to being "degraded". Layla conflates a Scottish accent with not being "posh" or "well spoken" and by implication a Scottish accent with being working class. Of course people can have a Scottish accent and be middle class or even "posh" but the fact that Layla says this reflects a Scottish cultural assumption that associates English accents with being "posh" and Scottish accents with being working class (Hearn 2000). I return to this point in chapter 6.

5 Class, money and moral judgement

When describing a female "Chav", young women cite the popular television programme *Little Britain* and Matt Lucas's Vicky Pollard character. This is a representation of a working class young woman which represents her as unintelligent, unattractive and as Beverly Skeggs (2005) contends a target for derision and negative moral judgement. As Sayer (2005) points out however, having no money has nothing to do with your moral worth or merit as a human being but denies access to a style of life that is socially valued and brings self respect. In their use of the term "Chavvy" as a pejorative label there is evidence that some young people have internalised the notion that lack of money is evidence of intrinsic deficits in character.

Fiona points out that most people cannot afford expensive brands. Fiona's (20/2/07) perception is that boys are more brand aware than girls "cause girls don't really wear brand names. We just get like nice clothes. We are judged on the way our clothes look, not the brands" She is, however, able to list all the brands that are popular. Her friend Sandra, (with whom Fiona usually meets me) argues that Fiona "slagged" or teased her because as Fiona contests Sandra claims that her Mum is just going to straightforwardly give her the money to get clothes out of an expensive shop, G star. Sandra denies this but implicit in the girls' exchange is a shared recognition of value placed on expensive products. In a meeting with Paul, Sandra also suggests

"that's what people get slagged about as well, where they come from. Like if you come from a poor part, people will slag you and if they knew that you lived there and if you have crappy clothes, people will slag you as well (Sandra - Sandra and Paul 7/11/06)

Sandra's point was supported in a comment from the head teacher,

I was dealing with a fight and it turned out the fight was because of taunts that were being made because this boy came from out with the catchment [area], from a really deprived area beyond the catchment [area]. When the boys were falling out they were using that as a weapon (Head teacher 8/5/07)

Poverty in this construction is not seen to be evidence of misfortune or disadvantage but evidence of inherent deficits in character which merit criticism. Young people expose the normative moral codes of the society in which they live by overtly and often cruelly drawing attention to them. They do not obey social niceties, which command that in face to face communication people pretend that social inequality doesn't exist but instead criticise each other openly on this very basis. In this they uncover normative values and socially embedded moral codes which imply that relative poverty is the consequence of individual deficits in character rather than a consequence of structural inequality.

Although participants tend to suggest that "Chavs" or "Neds" come from poorer backgrounds young people also highlight the description as complex.

Yeah I've heard that and I don't know how much I agree with that. [*the view that Chavs are from poorer backgrounds*] Yeah I was getting a slagging today because my new boyfriend is like a total Chav and stuff. And his family are quite Chavvy and that. And I mean they are quite, they are quite skint and stuff. But...like he's, he's just like got a new job. He starts today actually and his pay is going to be really good and stuff. And I don't know, I mean I think it started that way, like sort of, like living on council estates and stuff. But then it's like, it's just kind of became like a fashion because it's like Fred Perry and stuff is like quite expensive. And Chav's wear like Fred Perry jumpers and stuff (Diane 18/4/07).

Although Diane defines her new boyfriend's family as "quite skint" and "quite Chavvy" she suggests that the clothes so called "Chavs" wear are expensive and in this sense cannot really be seen to be poor. Diane describes her new boyfriend as a "total Chav" who originates from a poor background but has the capacity to earn "really good" pay. She constructs the "Chav" style as a fashion which involves wearing expensive clothes. Bourdieu (1989:19) describes habitus as a durable way of being expressing "the social position in which it was elaborated" long after the original influences may have disappeared. Having a degree of economic capital then

does not mean that young people are not also still implicitly classified as working class. Darren (9/11/06) defines Layla and her friends as "Ned girls with money."

It just depends on your upbringing. Sometimes it's where you stay, what your mum's like, how much money your mum's got. If your mum can't afford to go out and buy you Diesel and Replay and stuff and Miss Sixty, you're going to have to turn to Nike and Adidas and stuff like that because that's cheaper and it's a sports make and that's how you kind of turn into a Chav (Layla 9/11/06).

Layla says she had previously been a Chav because her Mum had been a single parent and had not had much money so her image had been different at that time. She had worn mainly tracksuits but now her Mum has a boyfriend and they are bringing more money into the house so she can get designer clothes to wear. She says that even when her Mum did not have much money she always made sure Layla and her brother dressed well. She states that they would always get clothes on their birthdays which she feels was, for them, as significant as toys. Both she and her brother learned to care deeply about their appearance. Layla's mother's focus on always ensuring her children were well dressed despite having little money, resonates with Beverly Skeggs' (1997) argument that respectability is a key concern of those who may not be seen to have it. Boden et al's study (2004) suggests that parents' perception of the reason they consume on behalf of their children is linked to Bourdieu's (1984) argument that children can symbolise parents' material capital. "You are what your children are" as one parent puts it. Parents are aware of how well their child is going to be able to fit in.

Young people use clothes consumption as a tool to define a sense of individual or group identity and conversely to avoid social exclusion or facilitate inclusion. Being well dressed when you do not have much money is a way of resisting being patronised, looked down upon, or disrespected. While Layla does not see being a "Chav" as anything to be ashamed of she perceives her current capacity to wear expensively branded clothes and accessories as associated with popularity.

When you go out at the weekend with your pals and everybody is wearing, even if it's the stupidest thing like a Diesel bag or a Replay jacket, people know straight away oh they've got money like they're well dressed, they're popular, you can tell. There were about 6 of us and we all had a Gucci bag.... (Layla 9/11/06)

Following on from this, Darren (9/11/06) rejects the idea that "Goths, Sweaties or Skaters" only come from bought houses. These are the groups he and his friends identify with and they mainly all lived in council houses,

cause the clothes that we wear are expensive so they must think oh they have got the money for all their clothes, they must have money for a bought house, but its total rubbish (Darren 9/11/06)

As well as resisting the idea that working class people can't be "Goths, Sweaties or Skaters" Darren makes clear here that he associates these groups with expensive clothes and that wearing expensive clothes does not mean you also come from a more middle class background. Being defined as a "Chav" or "Ned" is not solely dependent on the clothes worn or style of dress. The term "Chav" is associated with a particular way of being, a particular kind of "cool", being loud, confident, challenging to teachers and peers hence being perceived to be powerful (and sometimes popular) in school. For example Peter suggests,

Neds are kinda ... it is a bit stereotypical but Neds are usually kinda the ones that are non educated. Where they kinda that leave school or are kicked out or don't even like listen and get kicked out of classes. Whereas Chavs can be people in top English sets who have just got the kind of tone or annoying people. They are actually quite smart but they are still like annoying people (Peter 25/1/07).

Bourdieu ((1984) 2002: 230) argues that social space is constructed by the different forms of power or capital that are current in different fields. Peter understands educational achievement to have cultural capital and distinguishes young people with this kind of cultural capital who he calls "Chavs" from "Neds" who although sometimes feared by their peers are being defined by Peter as having little cultural capital in these terms. "Chavs" for Peter are working class young people who can educationally achieve. However in the field or social space of the classroom a young person who is loud and challenging to peers and teachers can be understood to have power or capital in relation to peers. Skeggs (2004:39) suggests that the process of classifying classes has created "regimes of representation" which in enabling the people being classified to be recognised and known has led to the attributing of moral value. Skeggs illustrates the way that working class people could be defined as

morally deficit in opposition to the "respectable" middle class but in this could also be seen as potentially more exciting. In the context of schooling young people gain a degree of unity in relation to the shared experience of being obligated to go to school and being governed by teachers and this arguably creates a context or social field in which pupils who resist the authority of teachers are seen to be the most powerful (and sometimes popular) amongst the pupil group.

Well they [Neds] are the ones who have kinda got, I would probably have to say they've got courage (Peter 5/2/07)

This may also lead to the adoption by some more middle class pupils of the challenging aspects of the "Ned" or "Chav" way of being.

I think what you tend to get sometimes, you will get a kid from a better off background will join a group of tougher kids and that is more common than the other way around, parents get really, really up tight about that, because they are getting involved in what would be seen as "Ned" behaviour you know. It would tend to be a girl [...] that's how she meets the "bad" boys (Teacher 1- 3/5/07)

Drawing on the work of Daiwara (1998) who highlights the way Black working class maleness can be inscribed with certain characteristics which are defined in popular culture as "cool" and then utilised by both White and Black actors, Skeggs (2004:1) points out that while White actors can use aspects of Black "cool", Black actors cannot perform "White". This teacher similarly suggests it is more likely a young person from a "better off background" will be accepted into a group of "tougher" working class young people than it is the other way around.

Although Darren tells me he identifies with Goths and Skaters, his style of dress does not make him easily identifiable as belonging to these groups. He tells me with humour in an unrecorded conversation, that he doesn't wear the clothes because he looks stupid in things two sizes too big for him (Field notes 12/30/06). Similarly Freddie describes dressing as a Goth, but his narrative both indicates that this style of dress is likely to mark him out for attack by other young people living on council estates and that his own embodiment of the "Goth" persona belies the non-combative, middle class image of Goths portrayed by most of the young people discussed later in this chapter.

When I was a Goth, I was feared by all the Neds, all the Neds were scared of me. I wore big black suits and because they were big, it made me look much bigger, more muscley and everything and I'd walk through [council estate] and they'd be like 'check the Goth' and I'd be wearing my big black leather coat and I turned around and said 'do you want to come closer and say that' (Freddie 10/1/07)

Skeggs argues,

..only some can utilise their culture as a property of the self; others are forced to perform it as a "natural" part of being (Skeggs 2004:77)

Young people's sub-cultural groups can encompass young people from a range of social backgrounds however Freddie and Darren's descriptions suggest that working class young people tend not to have the cultural resources at their disposal to easily perform a middle class habitus.

6 Resisting Negative Representation

Drawing on the work of Martha Vicinus, Skeggs (2004:40) observes that the working class do not accept morally deficit representations of their class,

They reversed the values, defining themselves through distance and difference from others, in particular the middle class, heaping scorn on those with pretensions to gentility. It was resentment and hatred of those with the authority to judge and define. "Putting on airs was the greatest sin anyone could commit" (Vicinus 1974:262-3)

Layla talks of her irritation with a pupil who lives in the same council estate as her but denied her background.

There's a geek who stays over the road from me. She's so stuck up she says 'no, I don't stay in [council estate], I stay on the outskirts of [council estate] and that just shows that she's such a geek, she's so up her own bum. You can't even admit, you know you're smart but you just can't admit that you're from [council estate] and that really annoyed me and a few other people. Why be like that, why not just accept where you're from but accept that you're smart as well. They think that because I stay in a council scheme, I'll get degraded. After that, I just had no time or respect for that girl at all. (9/11/06)

Layla suggests that this girl who is "smart" denies that she comes from a council scheme because she thinks it might be a source of shame. Layla recognises that to achieve academic success has cultural capital and it is possible that an element of

Layla's irritation with this girl is linked to her academic achievement and perceived success within the more formal structures of the school, essentially because of her difference from Layla. Layla has struggled to achieve in similar terms so to value this way of being is on a fundamental level to devalue her self.

Layla mentions that she grew up being exposed to ideas about politics via her Grandparents and her Grandfather's cousin who had been a local Labour councillor. She stayed regularly with her Grandparents and she and her Granddad would have big discussions about what was on the News. It is possible that this wider education and likely exposure to political ideas about class has increased Layla's sense of working class pride and consequently her self worth in relation to this aspect of her identity and her resistance to being "degraded" as she puts it, on this basis. Like most of the young people, however, Layla's expressed views are contradictory, complex and responsive to a cultural context where wealth can be implicitly linked to the intrinsic worth of a person. As highlighted earlier Layla perceives her capacity to wear expensive clothes and accessories as linked to popularity and, although happy to acknowledge that she lives on a council estate, she also points out that she lives in a good part where the houses are "quite big". At the same time as expressing anger at being "degraded" on the basis of being working class she also takes pride in her relative wealth.

7 Goths, Geeks; Class Envy and Antagonism

Sandra's suggestion that "Goths" come from "posher" homes than "Chavs" or "Neds" and are "the clever ones because they're quiet and they know everything"; and Layla's suggestion that "most geeks are usually Goths anyway" highlights a link being made by pupils between specific youth subcultures, social background and academic success. Diane also highlights a perception of "Goths" as potentially creepy and "weird".

...there was a thing in the paper like a few years ago when it was like some, like Goths, Goths apparently broke in somewhere and were using like, it was like skulls or something, like playing about with them and that. And it was kind of like well yeah I can understand why people would think that's sort of weird and that. But it would automatically have to be a Goth because it's to do with deaths and stuff. And...I don't know, like I don't think people would think Chavs will break in to a museum or

whatever and carry skulls about because it's not a Chav thing to do. Chavs will just try and rob you or whatever, I don't know (Diane 18/4/07).

In this story Diane emphasises a cultural difference between "Goths" and "Chavs". Aside from the assumption of criminal behaviour implicit in Diane's description of "Chavs", to break into somewhere would have a very clear practical purpose for young people from poorer areas which would be about getting money. The implication is that for "Goths" breaking into a museum would not be about getting money but about engaging in behaviour that reinforces or rehearses the unifying style of behaviour of their identity group. The implication being that they have the privilege of less immediate concerns than money.

"Goths" are boys and girls who generally wear black and wear black make-up. Their androgynous style, with dog collars, pierced cheeks, eyebrows and so on, represents resistance to conventional codes of dress and could Diane suggests be scary to some people,

not like so much my generation but in like, with older, with older people or I suppose like young kids and that would probably be quite scared of Goths cause they think they are going to, I don't know [laughs], like children of satan or something. I've no idea (Diane 18/4/07).

Highlighting the strategic use of diverse identities, Freddie states that he has been both a "Ned" and a "Goth",

I have to admit that I was a bit of a Ned when I was younger. I can't deny that. I was also a Goth. I did go through the 'everybody hates me stage, the world is just an excuse for death' phase (Freddie 10/1/07).

Freddie also rather humorously suggests that "Goths" are perceived to have a dark, gloomy demeanour. They are also, however, perceived to be the most accepting group of young people in the school. Anyone can join their group who wanted to. It wouldn't matter what your identity had been before (e.g. a victim of bullying) you can become one of them. "They don't care about your past, they just accept you straight away" (Layla 9/11/06). These young people stand at a particular spot in the playground near the Alternative Education Base and this is widely accepted as their space.

Despite this perception that Goths can be seen as weird and might threaten older people or children because of associations with Satan worshipping etc. in the school context they are seen to be quiet, well-behaved pupils who are not threatening in the least. In fact they are more likely to be either objects of derision or targets of violence or verbal abuse from "Neds".

All the Goths are quiet... I don't think I would really like to be a Goth because you get slagged and people chuck stuff at you and that. If you're going up the stairs, people will chuck whatever they've cooked in HE and it'll hit all the Goths (Sandra - Sandra and Paul 7/11/06)

8 Class Antagonism

Confirming Sandra's point about young people being perceived to be Goths being subject to abuse, I come across Diane on one occasion brushing coca cola from her coat which has been flung over her. Diane has various visible piercings, wears black and sometimes wears black make-up and says people assume she is a Goth although she says she does not want to be categorised in this way. She is used to abuse from others in the school and appears to take it in her stride. She seems to accept it as a natural part of life but says on more than one occasion that her life would be easier if "Neds" didn't exist.

Diane says "It sounds terrible to say this but there would be no Neds in my ideal world because I could do without getting abuse and coke bottles hurled at me when I'm walking along the street" (Field notes 28/11/06)

Diane and her friendship group come from middle class backgrounds. Her best friend previously attended a private school before coming to Rosefield Academy. Diane comes from a home in which she has a strong relationship with her mother and two older brothers who she feels will protect her from anyone who seriously tries to threaten her.

I don't, well...like Chavs and Neds and that don't really bother me 'cause like my big brother was quite Chavvy and stuff when he was younger. But like I don't know, I don't tend to get bothered by them at all. And it's like kind of 'cause I wear like dark colours and dark makeup and stuff I'm used to getting like random insults shouted at me. And it's like of like, well, what can you really do, sort of, if you lay a hand on me I've got two big brothers that will like be down here in twenty seconds. So, you know,

I don't tend to really personally, I know a lot of people are quite sort of scared of them across the road and that but I'm sure there's people who will do that with like Goths and stuff as well (Diane 18/4/07).

Her supportive family alongside strong friendships appear to have given her a strong enough sense of her own worth and enough immunity to avoid giving the pupils who subjected her to abuse too much power over her. Diane uses the Base because her father had suddenly died and she had found school difficult to deal with. She can often be seen in the coffee area of the Base reading a book. She is an articulate young woman who enjoys discussing books. As a sixth year pupil she also offers peer support to pupils in Darren and Freddie's fourth year lower streamed English class. Diane (10/1/07) says she has got attached to Darren and Freddie, "mostly because I don't like most of the kids in that class Darren and Freddie are the only ones I can actually stand. I've had to put up with a lot of abuse from them because I am in sixth year". I sit in on this class and witness what she is talking about.

Rob asks Diane what she got from Santa she says "Nothing". He says "No what did you get". Diane looks like she knows she is being set up for something. The three girls at the front turn and ask the same question. Diane looks very uncomfortable. She doesn't respond to them. Diane is wearing a black top with a hood. She wears the hood up for the entire lesson. Again she says - "He didn't get me anything he doesn't visit me." They say, "No you did [get something], what did you get?" She says eventually - "a bit of string" and something else I didn't catch. Diane gives in trying to get the boy in the middle of the classroom to write and moves over to talk to Darren, Freddie and the boy sitting in between them. She sits in Liam's seat so she is facing them and talks to them. Liam returns to the class and as he opens the classroom door it bangs against Sam's desk. Sam screams and grabs his hand saying "My finger, my finger!" He then abruptly stops screaming and smiles indicating that his finger is fine he was simply performing. Diane moves from Liam's seat and sits down. The teacher tells Rob that people have written two pages and he isn't one of them. He says in a screechy voice "That is because they are Geeeks!!" The teacher reprimands Liam who was laughing – he shouts "It is because that thing (pointing at Diane) is making evil looks at me!" The teacher says Diane is here to help people with their work. Rob is threatened more than once with detention and staying behind in the break to do the work. The teacher struggles with the class. Pupils are now moving about the class. There is a continual pushing of boundaries (Field notes 7/1/07).

Rob is an extremely powerful presence in this class and sets the tone of the lesson. He fulfils aforementioned pupil descriptions of a "Chav" or a "Ned", i.e. a working class young man who "mucks about" or "causes trouble" in the class and in many respects sets the tone for the behaviour of other pupils such as Liam and Sam. In contrast it can be surmised that Diane who as she herself points out wears Goth style

clothes exemplified in this context by the black hooded top she wears with the hood up, represents a “geek” – someone who has succeeded enough in school to reach 6th year and who is behaving like a “teachers pet” by helping them out in class. She then becomes a target for abuse. It is important to note that the image projected of Rob and Diane in this particular classroom is not representative of how they appear in other school contexts. I witness Rob engaging articulately and humorously with pupils and teachers in the context of the Base and Diane's descriptions of her social life do not fit the stereotyped image of a geek. Diane's confidence in her ability to help other pupils with their English, however, reflects attributes associated with academic achievers and a temperament or disposition (i.e. *habitus*) that fits the academic function of the social field of the school classroom in a way that seems less true for Rob.

Layla says she would not mix with Goths because essentially that would reflect poorly on the image she was trying to project: "Honestly, there's a lot of snobbery. It's like 'I can't speak to them, imagine the reputation I'll get'" (Layla 20/2/07). She describes "Goths" as people who had previously been bullied and “that's what they turn into”. She identifies them, however, as an accepting group of people. Layla highlights the role of "Goths" in enabling vulnerable young people to find a group to belong to - to find a way to fit in. Paul defines this as having safety in numbers. Indeed "Goths" tend to move around the playground and beyond the school in a large group. One of the teachers points out that they wait until five minutes after the bell has gone and then move en masse to walk down the road, he suggests, towards the more middle class areas. However Layla says her brother had been a Goth after he had been bullied, Freddie also says he had been a Goth and Darren says most of his friends are Goths all of whom he says live on council estates.

The adoption of a distinctive dress code, such as "Goths", offer diverse young people, and potentially vulnerable young people, a group to belong to, a way of fitting in by standing out. Darren talks about having a girl as a best friend and associates this with Goth culture,

M Is that unusual like for a guy to have a girl as a totally best friend?

D No, well it would be with some people, but with the people I hang about with, Goths and that, they're just like easier to talk to and that than it is with guys.
(Darren 9/11/06)

9 The Future Cultural Capital of Geeks

The young people make a strong correlation between social background and academic achievement. Layla identifies "Geeks" as pupils who come from "good families". "They're well off and they're interested in their education all the time, not mucking about and stuff like that ...and they don't really go out at the weekends and have a drink" (Layla 9.11.06) Layla points out that people tend to give "Geeks" a hard time but that this stems from jealousy because they know that they are going to get good marks. All the young people want to get good marks in exams and voice the understanding that pupils who do well academically will have a better life in the future. However, all the young people are clear that while not all "Neds" or "Chavs" are popular, the most powerful young people in the school are the ones who are loudest in class, who stood up to the teachers and this was invariably the "Neds" or "Chavs". This is contrasted with Geeks who are seen to be some of the least popular.

Well this sounds a bit harsh but geeks usually don't have that many friends, probably just one in particular....They wear kind of weird clothes. They make kind of, are kind of really intelligent. Not like intelligent but probably top of the classes for everything, always answering questions. Always like teachers' pets. You know like if a teacher, I don't know, asks a question or something like that, like asks them to do something they would obviously apply. That's what I would classify as a geek....Kind of a lapdog of the teacher. (Peter 5/2/ 07)

Peter also says wistfully that he wishes he was as intelligent as them sometimes.

They are going to be really good in life, that's a guarantee. I can tell you that. They will do really well. I know I am not one of them. I wish I was at times. 'Cause you are either intelligent... you use your intelligence or what's it, popularity (Peter 5/2/07)

A counter-culture is evident that opposes the authority of teachers and makes pupils seen to be "lapdogs" of teachers unpopular. This point is highlighted by Martha who had been a high academic achiever in her first couple of years at secondary school and describes herself as a "geek" until her third year.

I mean I never knew anyone when I came here because I came from [local town], everyone came here from [primary school] and [primary school] and everything. Basically then that was when I kept my head down and studied, because I didn't know anyone (Martha 26/4/07)

Martha makes a link between the fact she studied hard and the fact she was bullied. At the end of second year she went onto the pupil council. She thinks she was picked for this role because she was perceived to be something of a geek and this was something that geeks did. The pupil council then is not seen by most of the pupils I encounter as something that seriously gives pupils power or importantly social standing amongst their peers. Martha is, however, interested in it because she says she has always been interested in politics. Martha describes herself as very good at public speaking and talks about holding local politicians to account at the City Youth Council over the lack of public service infrastructure they had included in plans to expand local house building in an area of the city. Martha is indeed a very articulate young woman who is however very socially isolated in relation to her peers. Martha had become depressed, had taken an overdose and since then had begun to do badly in exams. This is something she feels, as she puts it “crap about”

I think people who say that they are not bothered about their exams are lying, 'cause I think everyone is to a certain extent. It is an important thing, I am not going to down that in any way, it is a very important thing to pass your exams and when you actually sit down and think about it, I mean yeah you could be lucky in life and you could get a job when you leave in 4th year, but that's rare. I think some people fool themselves into thinking that that's going to be them and they just end up in a dead end job for the rest of their lives, which is sad, 'cause they never tried and they never cared about their exams. Well at least they said they didn't but it's because they had no self confidence and they thought I am not going to pass so I am just going to tell people that I don't care. I think that is more what it's about than anything else (Martha 28.2.07).

In this passage Martha depicts the potentially grave consequences of not passing exams. The cultural exchange value of qualifications is clearly understood. The holders of qualifications were going to be the people who had a good future who would avoid "a dead end job" and as Peter suggests would do really well in life. Martha also makes a clear link between a lack of confidence and not passing exams. This perspective is reflected in the words of many of the other young people who talk about their anxiety around exams, how it makes them feel more confident if they can pass exams and that they saw exam passes as linked to the type of future they would have. Sandra feels that even if they had a choice about whether to come to school or not even "Neds" would come “So that they can learn and get a good job” (Sandra - Sandra and Paul 7/11/06). Darren tells me he really does care about his grades and Paul feels it is stupid not to care. During the period when exams are coming up pupils talk about “bricking it” (i.e. being terrified).

10 Classifying Goths and Geeks

The conflation of Goths with Geeks young people who are quiet, who know everything and who are therefore more likely to pass exams and have a "better future" and also the perception of Geeks as people who come from "good homes", suggests an implicit marking of class differences. The Goths and the Geeks are the young people who are going to gain "a better future" and a "good job" from the exchange value of the qualifications they could achieve at school. Young people are also classified by working class young people as having a middle class identity and this appears to be synonymous with the identity of "Goth". The word "Goth", then, could be used as a pejorative label by working class young people about young people they perceived to be more middle class or "geeky" in the same way that "Chav" or "Ned" could be used as a critical term about working class young people. This is particularly illuminated by Martha both during an unrecorded and recorded meeting who describes herself as an "Emo", not a "Goth" but who is identified as one,

I am still a bit of an Emo, yeah. The other day I was quite surprised because this little Ned called me a Goth, and I was just like wearing my school clothes, I wasn't even wearing makeup, I just kind of looked round, I was like what, are you a freak, just because I am not wearing a track suit I am instant a Goth, right, sorry take that back, shell suit. You do know the only person in existence that wears those is Jimmy Saville... (Martha 26/4/07)

Martha also argues that while there are a lot of people who come from[council estate], [council estate] or [council estate] who are Neds there are also lovely people there. Her aunt lives in [council estate] and she is a lovely woman. She tells a story about going to [council estate] and being accosted by a group of young people while she was walking down the street. They said what are you doing here you don't belong here you are a Goth. She said she was going to visit her cousin. They asked who her cousin was and when she mentioned his name their attitude changed because they knew and liked him (Field notes 28/11/06).

11 Conclusion

Citizenship education is clearly represented as related to inculcating cultural norms and values with the aim of creating "responsible citizens" and "self confident

individuals". The everyday marking of classed identities by young people in school illuminates the differential marking of social value which is closely linked by young people to educational achievement. Bourdieu argues that the field of culture is arbitrary, that the attributes of people or things are only designated value in relation to other people or things designated to have little value (Bourdieu 1984). Young people's classifications of their own and others identities are relational. These classifications provide a template against which they measure the relative value of their own and others' attributes and social position. In addition to exposing wider cultural norms and values this process of classification highlights the significance of the economic dependence of all young people in shaping power relations between young people.

Young people do not choose but are obligated to attend school and in being subject to the authority of the school irrespective of social background they share a common ground. The embodied characteristics attributed to some "Neddy" or "Chavvy" young people - of being smartly and fashionably dressed, hair cut in the latest style and in the female's case wearing make-up, of being loud, challenging and apparently confident in classrooms - are defined as meaning they are the most "popular" pupils. The word "popular" invokes a conception that these young people are the most admired and liked however the young people's often critical descriptions of "Neds" and "Chavs" indicate that this is not wholly accurate. The research participants also conceptualise "Neds" and "Chavs" as the most powerful young people in the school. The word "popular" then is also being used to define a powerful status.

Young people do not construct their own and others identities as working class or middle class but describe the relative position they and others occupy in the social spaces in which they are located. While class distinctions are clearly visible in the ways that young people categorise each other and construct their social world they also highlight that classes or groups of people are not uniform or necessarily unified. Young people's sub-cultural groups can encompass young people from differing class backgrounds.

Specific areas of town are clearly understood as poorer and socially stigmatised. The young people negatively defined as "Neds" are clearly understood to come from

these areas. The term "Chav" can be understood as meaning the same as "Ned" or similar to "Ned" in that they can also be seen to come from poorer areas of town and be loud, intimidating and challenging to their peers. Young people labelled as "Chavs" however can be distinguished from "Neds" as young people who come from poorer areas but who are not "uneducated," who come from families who care about them, or who are just called "Chav" because they adopt a particular style of dress and have a challenging demeanour. The intimation that "Chavs" are different from "Neds" has a moral undertone in that "Neds" are constructed, where a difference between "Ned" and "Chav" is perceived, to be lower in the social hierarchy than "Chavs."

The pupil counter-culture which rejects "Geeks" and creates a specific tension between "Goths" and "Neds" or "Chavs" would seem to reflect a reversal of values, a resistance to values which afford cultural capital to young people who can academically achieve, with the right accent and "good" families and implicitly diminish young people whose working class status is embodied in distinctive cultural symbols such as accent, style of dress, and ways of standing and walking. Layla's perception that the girl who lives near her, is denying her working class status in order to be a "Geek" would seem to confirm this view.

Bourdieu's (1986:243) institutionalised form of cultural capital is that which is objectified into academic qualifications and while young people express ambivalence towards geeks who are simultaneously disdained and envied, the exam culture provokes anxiety for all of them. The young people draw attention to class antagonism, a struggle for power and status between pupils from differing social backgrounds stimulated in part by the distribution of capital in the social field of the school. Research participants are very clear that schooling and wider society confers status or cultural capital on pupils who can achieve educationally embodied in the young people constructed negatively as "Geeks" and sometimes conflated with "Goths". They also highlight that the latter young people, mainly but not always, have a different social background to the young people who find it difficult to achieve educationally and who may consequently "get into trouble and give up." "Neds" and sometimes "Chavs" are understood to fall into this second category. The

latter groups of young people exert power by resisting academic measures of success and in challenging a dominating power which, despite their differences, all pupils experience in common (i.e. the formal structures of the school) are afforded temporary social status or symbolic capital amongst the wider pupil population. Pupils indicate in a later chapter that this power is very transitory and has pretty much diminished by the time pupils are in fifth year, partly, because many pupils perceived to be troublesome have left after fourth year and partly because the balance of power appears to change in favour of pupils who can academically succeed.

Bourdieu has been criticised for focusing too heavily on the exchange value of capitals such as cultural capital and not taking enough account of the use value (Sayer 2005, Mills 2008). So for example while young people might reject an educational culture which focuses on exam results or instrumental outcomes as the main measure of success (because they find they cannot compete on those terms), in the process they could also reject education i.e. access to really useful knowledge, which does in itself have intrinsic value irrespective of the cultural capital it might afford young people with qualifications (Sayer 2005). A lack of achievement in education is primarily understood to be the consequence of a personal choice not to engage in education or an individual lack of capacity. Research continues to show that social background is a key determinant in educational achievement suggesting structural and cultural reasons not visible to research participants (Raffe et al 2006, Ianelli 2008). Young people's sense that some young people might not have families that care about them and that might be why "they get into trouble and give up" also pathologises educational difficulty as related to the deficits of individual families rather than the social challenges with which some families might be confronted.

Young people's assertions that Goths can come from any kind of background and the distinction that some of the participants make between "Neds" and "Chavs" emphasises the lack of homogeneity of cultural groups and also the imperative of each of the young people to contrast others' identity with a self worth inducing representation of their own. So for example Darren's apparent desire to establish an identity linked to "Goths", "Moshies" and "Skaters" and distant from "Neds" and

"Chavs" could reflect an implicit recognition of the greater cultural capital that the former young people might be likely to have in and beyond the school.

Some of the young people constructed as "Neds" do intimidate their peers and as young people highlight belonging to a large group such as "Goths" offers protection. Bourdieu (1984:55) also points out that even middle class young people because of their youth are (temporarily) excluded from economic power and therefore reject the obvious stylistic trappings of a world in which they cannot participate by adopting an opposing grungy style, reminiscent, for example, of the "Goth, Moshie, Skater" image. However habitus rooted in a historically insecure relationship with economic and cultural capital may conversely encourage an ostentatious style based on the display of expensively branded clothes as Layla's description of the "Plastics" in the next chapter further suggests.

In brief, this chapter supports the contention that class is embedded in everyday processes and practices (Reay 1997, Skeggs 1997, 2004). Young people's constructions of identities as citizens are shaped by the everyday marking of class differences.

Chapter Five: "Plastics, Trends and Emos"

Performing Femininity and Masculinity; Sexuality and Consumption

1 Introduction

The last chapter highlighted the implicit marking of class in young people's everyday constructions of youth sub-cultural identities in school. In this chapter the classification of classed identities remains significant. I turn my attention specifically however, to young people's constructions of gender and sexuality. The term citizenship is gender neutral but masks women's historically differential citizenship rights and status (Lister 1997, Arnot 2003). Lister (1997: 70) argues that in liberal and republican traditions a socially valued citizenship identity was allied with characteristics such as "impartiality, rationality, independence and political agency" conceived as male qualities "in the binary thinking that informs traditional citizenship theory." Young men and women's constructions of gendered identities in this chapter highlight that their entry into the public realm of citizenship is likely to be on different terms (Lister 1997: 71). So while citizenship may be a gender neutral term young people clearly indicate that a socially valued citizenship identity is constructed differently for males and females. In keeping with other studies the young people also highlight that gender is inextricably entwined with and conditioned by class and vice -versa (Willis 1977, Skeggs 1997, Walkerdine et al 2001). In addition the resources available to young people in this study to construct gender reflect the age and context in which they are located.

For example in his seminal study on a group of working class boys Paul Willis (Learning to Labour 1977) found that the boys rejection of education involved linking manual work to their specific type of "hard" or "tough," and therefore valued, masculinity. Intellectual or "mental" work associated with the more conformist "ear 'oles" was attributed characteristics seen to be negatively female or "sissy" (Willis 2004:180). Willis (2004) points out that subscribing to this particular sexist representation of masculinity enabled the young men to feel a measure of superiority

over both women, and men engaged in higher paid "mental" work, in addition to resisting being diminished or degraded themselves. Times have changed significantly since Willis carried out his research with the options for traditionally "male" manual jobs in the industrial sector much diminished and the service sector encompassing "white collar" and traditionally female employment greatly expanded. It is extremely hard for young people to access employment without qualifications. Manual work is less available as a resource for identity formation around a certain kind of "tough" masculinity, a degree of "mental" work has become more of a necessity. Young people in this study represent gendered, classed and ethnic identities on the basis of dress codes, styles of consumption, attitudes and patterns of behaviour which reflect the cultural era in which they live. A number of commentators have highlighted the impact of global capitalism and the development of a much more insecure and rapidly changing labour market which has contributed, they argue, to the growth of a much more individualised society (Beck & Beck Gernsheim 2001, Bauman 2001, Giddens 2003). Individual identities and lifestyles are presented as "a matter of individual decisions" (Beck & Beck-Gersheim 1996:29).

Young people's representations in this chapter suggest changing constructions of gender reflecting a shift in social attitudes and an extension of the models of gender available to young people to select and construct (Mac An Ghail 1994). Young people also, however, illuminate the durability of gender, sexuality and class inequalities undermining a conception that young people can freely choose how they wish to construct gendered or classed identities. A point supported by the fact that apprenticeships in Scotland still largely reflect traditional gender roles. The Equality and Human Rights Commission (2008) reports that only 2.4% of modern engineering apprenticeships in Scotland are female and only 1.5% of modern childcare apprenticeships are male. Identity construction appears shaped by recognition that some female and male identities are more culturally valued than others (Skeggs 1997, 2004). This chapter illustrates young people's creative strategies to maintain self worth by aligning with a collective sub-cultural identity that resists, reframes or rehearses normative cultural constructions of socially valued gendered identities.

2 "Plastics" and performing femininity

Plastics are a fairly recent addition to youth subcultures. Plastics derive from Western popular culture in the shape of film and music which has crossed the Atlantic from the US and which explicitly promotes teenage sexuality. Layla describes herself as a "Plastic,"

Because all the Plastics, we've all got hair extensions, all got make-up on. It only came about because of that film Mean Girls, it came from that. Long blonde extensions and long brown extensions... The lads try to deny it but they're all Plastics as well. They're male versions of Plastics...straightened hair all styled and got a bit blonde through it or something. J Star jeans on and just ken really smartly dressed. That's how they're Plastic....It just depends what clothes they wear and stuff you can tell straight away (Layla 9/11/06)

Layla (20/2/07) would later say "Plastics are the girls. Trends are the boys and girls together." The critical aspect of this was attention to image "hair looking good", "make-up looking good" and wearing expensively branded clothes. Martha, says she would never call a girl a Plastic to her face. She feels the term is derogatory because it implies that all there is to a person is the way that they look. Plastic as Martha understands it means made out of plastic they look "so artificial".

Layla sees being a Plastic as a source of pride however, an area of her life in which she is successful and an indication of her popularity. When asked what it meant to be popular she says,

When you come out to school, you've got to have the image, you've got to look good, be up with the fashions, wear designer clothes, always have your hair looking good, and your makeup looking good.... For the lads, it's if you play football and for the lassies it's what you're wearing. When you go out at the weekend with your pals and everybody is wearing even if it's the stupidest thing like a Diesel bag or a Replay jacket, people know straight away oh they've got money like they're well dressed, they're popular, you can tell.... My mum knows that, for me, it's all about image so my mum will get me it because she kens that if I dinnae, I'll be in a bad mood and won't talk to her or whatever. So most of us are spoiled brats - that's how that is. When I walk around school and it's like 'there's the Plastics', I get called 'Plastic' and 'Paris Hilton'. Everybody is like 'oh there's Paris', it's quite funny (Layla 9/11/06).

Layla makes a clear link here between popularity and symbols of ostentatious wealth in the form of expensive brands of clothes and accessories. She also makes a clear distinction between boys and girls, her perception being that for girls the most important factor in popularity is how they look and for boys it is their ability to play football, although as she points out image was also very important to boys. She appears to enjoy her peers calling her Paris Hilton – a blonde celebrity known mainly for wealth and glamour rather than any other particular achievements.

Layla's natural physical attractiveness and access to the money her Mum and Step-Dad give her (and her natural Dad gives her via a bank account set up for her) enables her to buy "the image" that in her view is linked to popularity amongst her peers. Bourdieu (1984) has explored the significance of style or taste as a means of marking difference between people of different social classes. Bourdieu (1984:56) suggests that class distinctions were made visible in people's expression of taste "it distinguishes in an essential way since taste is the basis of all that one has - people and things- and all that one is for others, whereby one classifies oneself and is classified by others." Layla conflates having money and being well dressed with popularity and in some respects in the context of the school other pupils support this perception. However while Martha supports Layla's representation of popularity her classification of this group of girls had both a derogatory and competitive tone,

Margaret Who are the most popular people?

Martha They tend to be quite neddy type, chavvy people.. Yeah, like 2 inches thick of foundation, shirt stained with their foundation (laughs)... so much mascara I don't know why their eyes aren't closed 'cause it's weighing their eyelashes down. Mostly hair slicked back, and they talk really weird... *now adopts mock Glasgow slang accent apparently mimicking how the popular people talk saying- "Oh no! That's mental"*, sounds like they are from Glasgow. It sounds like these people want to be popular and they want to like look good and stuff like that, and these people are only viewed as flawless, which they are not because no one is flawless. (Martha 26/4/07)

Bourdieu (1984) argues that taste affirms difference, that specific tastes are asserted negatively by the refusal of other's tastes. Martha's description of the "popular

people" like Layla and her friends as Neddy and Chavvy and as talking Glasgow slang, "shirt stained with foundation", like Darren's description of them as "Ned" girls, implicitly classifies them as working class and importantly as [negatively] different from Martha. Bourdieu (1984:466) contends

The schemes of habitus, the primary forms of classification, owe their specific efficacy to the fact they function below the level of consciousness and language, beyond the reach of introspective scrutiny or control by the will. Orientating practices practically, they embed what some would mistakenly call values in the most automatic gestures or apparently most insignificant techniques of the body....

It is significant that, despite Layla's description of the wearing of very expensively branded clothes such as Gucci, Diesel or Replay, Martha (and Darren) still define "Plastics" or "popular" girls as "Neddy" and "Chavvy". Darren (9/11/06) refers to "Plastics" derisively - "they are really stuck up basically, they don't like talk to anybody unless they are popular." Other participants name Layla and two of her contemporaries, when the word "Plastics" was mentioned. They are not in general perceived positively by other female participants.

I don't really talk to them because they are always plastered in make-up and they always have to look better than everyone else. I just don't really talk to any of them I just talk to everyone else. They don't seem very nice. I think they judge people before they know them well enough... (Fiona 9/11/06)

Nah, I don't like plastics. I don't know I just don't like them. [A plastic is] someone that...I don't know that's just always got makeup on, not all the time though because some people that aren't plastic do wear makeup. And that always wear fashionable clothes (Nina 23/4/07).

Plastics are classified as much by their disposition and demeanour as the clothes they are wearing. When Martha emphasises the significance of style, she also distinguished herself as someone who doesn't care about these things,

Well everyone has to have the latest hair cut or the new, I don't know, logo change or all this crap.... I am just not a big fashion follower myself so I don't care.....because they want to look fashionable, cause they want to look cool, like cause this person... like they always ask like the more popular people as well, (Martha 26/4/07)

3 Self worth, competition and attracting the opposite sex

While Martha implicitly highlights a class difference between herself and the "neddy and chavvy" young women, she also acknowledges the social worth assigned to girls who "look good" irrespective of class, drawing attention to the cross-cutting significance of gender. Her comment "these people are only viewed as flawless, which they are not..." suggests both competition and vulnerability because Martha does not feel she can compete on these terms. McRobbie (2009: 69) has highlighted how the fashion and beauty industry has ensured that girls and women remain "fearful subjects" driven by the need for "perfection".

A lot of people are self conscious about the way they look. Should I lose weight, should I put more make up on? Should I start wearing foundation? Do I need to go to the gym more? I hate clothes shopping because when I look in the mirror, I look fat in whatever I'm wearing and that makes me feel crap... It's a horrible feeling (Martha 28/2/07)

At this age its also physical appearance - has a really big part on confidence, a really big part on confidence. I know that I am not confident in the way I look at all, but the point being that I still have confidence because I have confidence in other areas, so stuff like... I know I am a good public speaker so I am confident about that and that confidence shows, I can talk to people like complete randoms, just approach people in the street and just start chatting to them. That's quite like a skilled thing to be able to do because a lot of people can't do that.... (Martha 26/4/07)

Martha illustrates that she can construct self worth via other means than appearance but that physical appearance is still experienced as profoundly important. This is supported by comments from other young women,

Having friends, looking and feeling good... Compliments make you feel good about yourself [laughs]....And stuff like that... partly at school cause like if you get your hair done people notice and they go 'oh your hair's really nice' and like... cause I'm getting mine done on Saturday. (Fiona 19/4/07)

Obviously if you, you are beautiful and all that then it makes you feel good because then other people they won't say 'oh look at her she's ugly'. But if you are not that and then obviously you would be a bit worried and you would try and make yourself look good and that (Suri - Sunni and Suri 21/2/07)

This emphasis on image is also reflected in the construction of good looking [and fashionable] girls and boys as the most popular.

- Nina Like all the popular ones muck about with each other, and just like everyone else is in different groups
- Margaret So how do you get to be a popular one?
- Nina Don't know, I am not, so I don't know
- Margaret But how do you know that they are popular?
- Nina 'Cause everyone knows who they are, I don't know....
- Margaret And how do they look, what does a popular person look like?
- Nina I don't know just fashion....
- Margaret Just fashionable... Is that just girls or is it boys as well?
- Nina Boys as well
- Margaret So would they be kind of good looking
- Nina Yeah
- (Nina 23/4/07)

The two older girls are a source of fascination to the young girl, J. One of these girls, Eva, has a powerful presence and her contemporary seems slightly in awe of her. Eva preens herself a lot, combing her hair, doing her make-up in a hand held mirror (Field notes 2/11/06).

Young women talk about how they start to wear make-up when they come to secondary school in their first year. They see how other girls are dressing in the school and this influences their own image. Girls feel that how you look is more of an issue for girls than it is for boys but boys indicate that they also care deeply about how they are perceived.

- Joe If you look ugly then you feel ugly and you don't have confidence in yourself
- Arun If people say you are ugly then you...
- Joe You probably want to kill yourself
- Margaret What is ugly though, like what is ugly?
- Joe Minging
- Arun If someone has a big nose or big ears or something, if you had a really unattractive nose...

Margaret But suppose you had a really outgoing personality and you were just really funny

Joe Well some boys might find that attractive but not girls

(Paul and friends 28/2/07)

I get called a trendy now because I wear like top, like tops and like hoodies. And I don't wear baggie jeans any more, I wear normal jeans. I still do have my baggie jeans, I just don't wear them as much. And everyone goes 'oh aye check the wee trendy' (Freddie 17/4/07)

Some of the young women were are easily able to embody a media driven representation of desirable femininity such as being thin, long thick hair and wearing clothes that are figure hugging. Paul's friends, Joe and Arun indicate that boys also have a conception of a desirable image for a boy. Each model is perceived to be the most successful in attracting the opposite sex. How far this reflects reality is debatable however the issue may be how far it is perceived to be true and a concept may be made durable by the fact it is repetitively acted on and acted out.

I think a lot of the time when it's a girl it depends like how much confidence they have around guys and what guys think of you and stuff. Because that's basically all teenage girls are interested in is boys. And if you don't have a lot of confidence about it or whatever it's like, it's really hard... like girls have different types, but with guys...most guys anyway have like sort of one image of what they like girls to be like...I guess from having two brothers that it's kind of like, like attractive sort of, long hair and feminine and sophisticated and like curvy but not fat and all that kind of stuff. And it's, I don't know, I just think it is harder for teenage girls than it is for boys (Diane 18/4/07)

Sandra and Fiona (20/2/07) explain to me that girls must not be the chaser in relation to boys they must still be "the chased". It is perceived to be "more embarrassing for girls" to pursue boys. Implicit then in dress styles which flaunt female sexuality are enduring moral standards being applied differently to girls and boys. Girls need to attract boys since girls cannot be the chaser. Highlighting again the significance of popular culture as both a resource and an influence in youth culture, Fiona cites American singer Christina Aguilera's song in relation to this in which she sings about the continuing double standard in relation to men and women's sexuality. Girls can still get called "slags" or "whores" for being sexually active with boys whereas this

would be a source of pride for boys. As Diane points out, castigatory moral standards can be applied to girls.

But then at the same time it's really, it's a difficult situation for girls to be in because you are either like, you are frigid or you are a slut. There's sort of like no in between. And it's just like, but with guys it's like if they sleep with girls they get a pat on the back for it. Cause it's like, it's fine, it's okay if you are a guy. But I think if guys haven't slept with girls or haven't slept with that many girls then they get stick for it (Diane 1/3/07).

The use of this language to refer to girls or women is reinforced by Darren who describes an incident from childhood when someone called his Mum "a slapper" and he fought him. Fairclough (2001) argues that language is not external to society but part of it and is a socially conditioned process: -

language connects with the social through being the primary domain of ideology and through being both a site of and a stake in struggles for power (Fairclough 2001:12)

The continued sole application of the negative terms "frigid," "slut" or "slapper" to women is reflective of a long standing ideology embedded in language which applies punitive moral codes to females in a manner that reinforces male dominance or power in relation to women. As Diane and Martha illustrate moral codes are implicit in the representation of values and at the two extremes can be about which practices or people are considered to have social worth or to be socially deprived - to be "moral" or "immoral" (Skeggs 2004). The young people indicate that morality continues to be constructed differently for men and women.

Dress codes which imply that women or girls should *primarily* dress to attract men or boys signal information about enduring moral codes that impact on how girls relate to one another and how they might perceive themselves.

....there's like one person in particular it would be like sort of like short skirt and showy top and stuff. And it's kind of like going out and loves to be the centre of attention and has guys like jaws like hitting the floor and that (Diane 18/4/07).

Diane argues that it matters much more to girls to have a boyfriend than the other way around. There is status for girls in having a boyfriend. It matters to both boys

and girls to be attractive to the opposite sex and young people make regular allusions to boys or girls that they like. It is common for both boys and girls to mention friends from the opposite gender apart from Sunni and Suri.

Initially I meet Martha and Diane together but it quickly becomes apparent there is tension between them as a consequence of a fall out over a boy that Diane had liked but with whom Martha is now going out. As Martha, Diane and Layla suggest girls may compete with each other in relation to how they look and their perceived success in attracting boys.

Because girls think differently to guys - guys are just like yep, that's a friend, that's a mate, that's fine. But then girls are like is she trying to compete with me, is she trying to steal my boyfriend, is she doing this, is she doing that,.... it's like why were you talking to my boyfriend, nah, nah, nah, and its just like because he is into rugby and I like rugby. Something like that, or if we were talking about a band or something, she was just like you are just trying to get in with him, you are just trying to steal him, and its like for god sake, no... (Martha 26/4/07)

Girls are like, really can be really vicious and really sneaky and really two faced. And they can do it better than boys can (Diane 18/4/07).

Like a lot of girls that I muck about with do that, they can be so down to earth, but if there are laddies about they will have the low cut tops on, and they want to be centre of attention, which is like what are you doing, they change really drastically. (Layla 19/4/07)

When girls are seeking to find a positive way to define themselves they may resist (or form temporary attachments to) models of "successful" femininity that include or exclude because of physical appearance, or capacity to acquire a boyfriend.

Resistance to this model might be in establishing enduring and loyal friendships between girls that resisted competition over boys such as seems to be the case with Sandra and Fiona, or in the friendships that boys can have with girls based on mutual liking and respect, or aligning yourself with a sub-culture that celebrates a more androgynous style of dress such as "Emos" or "Goths".

4 Performing Masculinity

Freddie explains during an unrecorded conversation when Peter is present that most boys would think he is a real success with girls because he is good at talking to them. He admits that in fact he is a virgin but would never admit that publicly and is happy for his peers to think otherwise. In this Freddie also highlights the enduring double standard in relation to the moral codes applied to male and female sexuality.

Successful masculinity is constructed as sexually active irrespective of the nature of the relationship with the young woman with whom he is partnered. The fact however that Freddie speaks about his virginity in front of a male friend indicates a level of mutual trust between the boys that I personally find unexpected. In addition the young people live in an era in which marriages are less frequently long lasting. Parents are less likely than in previous times to stay together as a couple throughout a childhood (Bauman 2003). The four boys that participate in this study all have separated parents and strong relationships with their mothers but less consistent relationships with their fathers. Paul's two friends, who also have separated parents, similarly indicate an ambivalent relationship towards their fathers.

The boys' perceptions and performance of masculinities is complex. They draw on the traditional conception of men as physically stronger than women, protective of the females in their life and physically combative with other males,

If somebody says something to my mum or one of my mates, I can change in an instant and just turn into a completely different person and go after that person. It's happened before when this guy hit one of my girl friends and I just snapped (Darren 8/2/07)

like I know how to handle myself and my dad's, like, not taught me how to fight but taught me how to like dodge and trip them up and everything without like causing serious harm (Freddie 17/4/07)

... I have never been in a fight, but I would probably do a lot of damage and that's what I am worried about (Peter 23/4/07)

Well I don't know any girls that do extreme downhill, mountain biking... I haven't seen any women go fishing, or hunting (Paul 18/4/07 citing the things he likes doing)

There is a sense that they take for granted a conception of positive masculinity being strong and that they will lose face if they represent a "weak" conception of

themselves to me. Boys describe a social world where they always feel there is a potential for physical attack by other boys.

I have had a knife pulled out on me seven times now (Darren 25/1/07).

There is a fight, I don't know, you watch it and then you feel that could have been you. Or once the school up the road, Hawthorn, they came down and we had to like all stay in here while the police came and stuff, and one time there was this big group of lads in this school who went round happy slapping everyone (Paul 28/2/07)

Nobody has fought me because they think I am big, I am quite big, like muscular which is quite good, but I don't want to get into a fight anyway, because what good does it give you. It may make you look hard, but hard is nothing, and I hate these people that are acting like, there's a word gangster, ever heard of that? (Peter 23/4/07)

He stood there with a baseball bat and I said 'what do you think you're doing?' (Freddie 10/1/07)

In this sense their perception of how they should perform masculinity is shaped by the social fields within which they operate. A point that Freddie highlights in relation to his father,

Freddie says if his parents had stayed together then he might have ended up being a "Ned" or an alcoholic like his Dad who, he says, gets drunk and fights people. (Fieldwork Diary 28.2.07)

It is from their point of view potentially dangerous to show weakness in certain contexts. Darren and Freddie talk about being bullied regularly when they were at primary school and both have been subject to intervention for "anger management".

I hate myself afterwards, I mean I go in a big rage I just do not like myself I don't want to go into that state. (Darren 9/11/06)

I observe Darren, Freddie, Paul, Peter and their male peers in the context of classrooms, in the playground and in conversations with peers and teachers. In classrooms it is easy to witness the ongoing banter between boys, where boys perform for each other and try to make each other laugh often using another boy as the butt of the joke. Here is Paul's English class for example,

There are 16 boys and seven girls in this class. There is a boy in the class who the teacher refers to by his first name – "John" and the young people refer to by another name, which I presume is his second name or a nickname "Simon". He is tall with very bad skin. The pupils are working on a written assignment – answering questions on a piece of writing. The boys immediately in front of me discuss Simon as he goes out to sharpen a pencil or pick up a jotter. He has earphones in his ears and sways and

bobs his head in time to the music only he can hear. The boys sitting in front of me are not talking about him kindly. They often shout over to him and there is a negative tone in their communication towards him. Simon will keep up a constant racket in this class despite appeals to be quiet from the teacher. He is eventually asked to leave the room.

Pupils are doing very little in relation to the assignment. Paul is sitting in a row with Spike who is also in his restricted timetable class. There is a boy sitting in between them. A very young looking boy, Ian, in front of Spike keeps turning to engage in banter and play fighting with Spike. The teacher mentions parents' night coming up. Pupils now start to get on with the work. The teacher goes round helping different pupils with the assignment. A boy, Ben, arrives late. He is a powerful presence and sits in the row in front of me. The boy next to him "Frank" shouts over to him as he arrives in the classroom - "Been to Careers? The woman is sound eh?" Frank and Ben start to engage in a detailed conversation about what they are going to do when they leave school. They mainly seem to discuss trades. The teacher remonstrates with them to get on with the assignment – pointing out to Ben that he has some catching up to do. At one point Ben asks the boy sitting next to Frank, Eddie "Have you been doing something different with your hair?" There is a note of sarcasm in his voice. "You have - you have been doing something different with your hair". Eddie instinctively puts his hand up to his head to stroke down his hair at the front. He looks aggrieved but he makes little response other than to grumble; "You are always going on about people's hair." Ben also shouts over to Simon – "What are you listening to?" Simon is now singing tunelessly and loud enough for all to hear. Ben suggests the name of the music track Simon is listening to and Simon affirms that he is correct. They both laugh.

Ian is asked eventually to move to a single desk in front of Ben, Frank, Jake and Ian. He playfully hits Spike over the head with a newspaper as he moves away smiling as he does so. He does not look particularly happy to be in front of Ben and company. Jake asks for Ian's newspaper. Jake ostentatiously reads the paper until the teacher eventually notices and takes it from him asking him rhetorically "You think you are here to sit and read the paper?" She tells Ian he can get his paper back at the end of the lesson. Ben starts to ask Ian about the football shirt he is wearing under his white shirt. Ian looks wary as he responds to his questions. There is certainly a slight undertone of sarcasm in the way Ben asks the questions. Ben establishes that it is an Ireland shirt. Jake asks why he wears an Ireland shirt. Ian explains that members of his family are from Ireland. I don't catch all of what he says given they are talking in relatively low voices. Ian turns back to his work. It is clear from his defensive body language and tone that Ian is not particularly friendly with this group.

The teacher is resolutely pleasant to the pupils. Jake tells her "Miss I am going to be a Dictator when I am older" She replies mildly while looking to see what other members of the class are doing "Are you? What are you going to dictate about?" He doesn't come up with a reply and she moves on to talking about their response to the questions. Paul has sat for the entire lesson as far as I can see in the same position leaning his head on his hand turned away from me and in towards the boy next to him and Spike. He may also be determinedly turned away from Ben, Frank, Eddie and Jake. Paul is successful in avoiding any negative attention from the other boys (Field notes English class 27/1/07).

Attack, invisibility or as in Simon's case ostentatiously disregarding the formal purpose of the classroom is apparently seen as the best form of defence against becoming the butt of jokes. Young people's construction of the popular people as the loudest highlights young people who are most successful in avoiding becoming the butt of jokes and constructing other young people as the victims. The construction of dominant masculinity then in these public contexts is swaggering, loud and boisterous; has a physical demeanour which confidently occupies space jostles, pushes and wrestles peers; whose movements, speech and laughter can be exaggerated, verbally challenging to peers and take limited account of the pedagogical purpose of the teacher; and can seek ongoing opportunity to elevate status or exert power by diminishing others or challenging the authority of the teacher. The girls are a noticeably invisible presence in my account of this class but then so were many of the boys. Particular boys are good at commanding attention and wielding power in relation to their peers. However as I will outline in more detail in a later chapter, girls can play a similarly powerful role in a class but a dominant femininity is constructed as ostentatiously feminine, applying make-up in class, combing hair and generally preening rather than wrestling or jostling with peers.

Peter and Darren also indicate that a macho representation is just one construction of masculinity,

Well guys are meant to be more... its not meant to be but there's kind of men acting like big men, they have no feelings, they don't cry, which is the opposite for me. I love to cry at times which is weird, but it just releases my feeling at times. I don't like being big and macho, I kind of like being polite and soft centred, I think that's the saying, where you are meant to be big/butch, boys are always into football, I don't like football, I like music instead. If I liked a sport - it would probably be nothing to be honest (Peter 23/4/07)

I don't want to get into a fight anyway, because what good does it give you. It may make you look hard, but hard is nothing, (Peter 23/4/07)

...like guys' reputation's meant to be big guys who don't feel anything and girls are meant to be all soppy, but maistly that's not true. Cause I have some male mates who like do really get emotional over stuff, and I have some girl mates who can basically take on any of my friends which is quite scary (Darren 9/11/06)

Darren also states that his closest friend is a girl, which he says is not unusual in the crowd he "hangs about with," girls are "just like easier to talk to and that than it is with guys." Guys, Darren says, are "emotionless pigs" or at least that is what he had been told by one of his female friends -

I don't like to be in a serious situation I have to crack a joke or something so I got called an emotionless pig (Darren 9/11/06)

Lisa Adkins (2004) argues that the emergence of a reflexive attitude towards gender is not indicative necessarily of a de-traditionalisation of gender but rather a habit of gender in contemporary times. The young people talk about sexuality and gender in a way that is conscious of stereotypes of masculinity and femininity. They also indicate via the double standards still applicable to boys and girls, men and women that traditional gender inequalities are enduring. Men have more power and advantage than women in Scottish culture and in most cultures throughout the world (Connell 1995, Breitenbach & Wassoﬀ 2007). This imbalance has a profound effect on all aspects of the practice of a school and serves to create the significantly differential experience of male and female pupils and teachers. There are of course multiple constructions and expressions of masculinity and femininity and while all males benefit from what Connell (1995) has called the "patriarchal dividend" these benefits are unevenly distributed dependent on the social positioning (e.g. class, race, age, sexuality, physical ability etc.) of the males. Walkerdine (1990: 4) has highlighted how relations of power and resistance in the context of a classroom are an ongoing site of shifting and reproductive struggle. She illuminates how boys can construct the social category of "woman" as the "powerless object of sexist discourse." Describing how boys attending a nursery school use sexist language to assert power over a nursery teacher she argues,

Although they are not physically grown men they can take the positions of men through language, and in so doing take power which has material effects. Their power is gained by refusing to be constituted as the powerless objects in *her* discourse and recasting her as the powerless object of *theirs*. In their discourse she is constituted as "women as sex object," and as that object she is rendered the powerless object of their oppression (Walkerdine 1990: 5).

The relevance of Walkerdine's point is underlined for me by a "small incident" while observing Darren's Chemistry class.

Kelly sits near me with her hand up. She will have her hand up for some time as the teacher is caught up with boys sitting near the front. The boys sitting along the front all have short hair. There are two boys sitting together at the side with long hair. I look up and one of the boys at the front is staring at me. He then slowly and pointedly winks. Despite his extreme youth it feels like a sexually harassing act. I feel sure that he would not have done this to a male. I am irritated by his act, as I feel slightly demeaned by it – reduced to a woman who can be threatened by a male whatever age. I realise I am bringing a range of previous experiences to this small incident (Field Notes – Chemistry Class 10/1/07).

I am a female visitor to this class, not a teacher merely an adult observer but as a silent witness to what is going on in the class a noticeable and potentially powerful presence. Although in a classroom context where he has relatively little power, this boy's act successfully, if briefly, shifts the balance of power in his direction, which I suspect is the point. I cannot know his purpose but consciously or unconsciously, he is able to use his gender and an overt expression of heterosexuality to briefly exert power over an adult female. The reason that this particular, on the face of it innocuous, act is effective in disgruntling me is because of socially and culturally embedded constructions of masculinity and femininity that encourage me to interpret unsmiling prolonged eye contact from this boy followed by a slow wink as a challenge. Although young men highlight that their constructions of masculinities are complex, enduring inequalities between men and women enable boys to use the "patriarchal dividend" as a power resource in relationships with women and girls.

5 Social class, consumption and self image

When Layla identifies the most important thing in life as image she states that you will not have friends if you do not have the right image.

When you come out to school, you've got to have the image, you've got to look good, be up with the fashions, wear designer clothes, always have your hair looking good, and your makeup looking good.... (Layla 9/11/06)

This conception of social success also reflects a society based on consumption rather than production and where the good life is signalled by capacity to consume, to acquire consumer goods (Bauman 2001, Rose 1989, Schor 2004). All the young people in this study speak about the significance of having access to the right brands. Douglas Holt (2002) illustrates how consumers are resistant to authoritarian marketers defining lifestyles, instead using brands to define their own lifestyles. Brands and consumer goods, however, are no less significant as consumers form communities around the usage of specific brands. Darren, for example, talks about branded gear associated with his love of BMX biking. Layla speaks about how she and her friends all got a Gucci bag at the same time. Young people are very clear that the wearing of particular brands commands respect whereas other brands are considered to have little value and afford the wearer derision rather than respect. Young people adopt a very direct approach in highlighting differential status,

Like if you've got someone wearing something that, some like label that's not, do you know what I mean like...like [laughs] Nike's like a big make but then Diadora's just like, I don't know, but it's just meant to be like minging. But if someone was wearing that they probably would be like - ha look at them (Fiona 19/4/07).

..like if someone is wearing like something other girls want but its cheaper they'll say your coat's fake and stuff like that...like just say someone bought a coat from Hugo Boss, for example if I got a coat from Next, they would say the other coat is fake because it looks like the same (Joe - Paul and friends 28/2/07).

A key aspect of why brands are valued or have status is related to the cost of the product. Expensive brands which also reflect desirable style tend to have high status, cheaper brands do not. Fiona also says that most people cannot afford expensive brands and suggests that brands matter more to boys than girls because they have less option to accessorise to display a particular style. At a meeting with some of Fiona and Sandra's friends, Kieren also suggests,

There is more pressure on boys to shop in actual designer shops... I have to wait till I have got about £50 before I go shopping (Kieren - Fiona and Sandra's friends 2/3/07)

Young people's knowledge of brands highlights a cultural context in which they are addressed by advertisers as economic actors in their own right in a way that was not true of previous generations (Valentine 2000: 258). The implication is that young people are understood as having a choice about how they represent themselves to others, how they construct an identity and are forced to engage in what Giddens (2003: 387) calls a "reflexive project of the self." However as several of the young people point out, identities are in large part ascribed by factors beyond their control such as gender or how much money their parents have.

Douglas Holt (2002) suggests that while the marketing of brands has promoted a vision of how to live the good life, young consumers do not passively accept these images but also use brands to define their own lifestyles. Girls cite older teenagers as opposed to celebrity figures, for example, as a key influence on their style. However the exchange value of specific branded products being cited as a measure of social worth is underscored by an ideology which associates wealth with individual success and poverty with personal failure (Sayer 2005, Skeggs 2004).

Freddie states that if his mother bought him a pair of Jeans that were a cheaper brand and they fitted him he wouldn't care what people said. However he talks specifically about possessing designer gear and how it makes him feel to wear it:

if I, like when I do wear my Dolce and Gabbana stuff I'm, like I stand up straight, I, chin up and I'm all proud and everything (Freddie 17.4.07).

Layla got her Gucci bag from an auntie and Freddie his Dolce and Gabbana shirt from an uncle but both express delight because it enables them to project an image, a style that to them confers value and enables self worth.

6 Emos and depression

Martha describes herself as an "Emo". The word "Emo" is short for emotional. This group of young people affect a depressed demeanour. Martha has previously attempted suicide, is on anti-depressants and is, she feels, genuinely depressed.

However both Martha and Diane express scepticism about how depressed most "Emos" actually are and explain that some young people will scratch themselves to make it look as if they have self-harmed.

This cultural group has developed around an interest in specific music such as Panic at the Disco and My Chemical Romance MCR(an American band popular in the UK). One of the latter band's song titles is "I am not OK" and has an angst-ridden lyric clearly targeting young people – the accompanying video features young people in school uniform in a school setting. Martha has been prescribed anti-depressants following a suicide attempt the previous year. Unger (2004:130) contends that "the power to define mental health is based on inter-subjectivity experienced in our relationship with others". The point being that our subjective perception of mental wellbeing depends on a collective definition – "the power that results from being in relationships with others" (Unger 2004:132). Mental wellbeing then requires finding a successful identity that is valued and confirmed with others.

In their affectations of depression the "Emo" culture potentially represents a natural home for Martha. Although she now calls herself an "Emo", she is keen to distinguish herself from those who merely affect depression. She is, she argues, genuinely depressed. Unger (2004) argues that resilience in troubled young people is evidenced in their ability to construct an identity that is mentally healthy. Amongst "Emos" it is commonplace or "normal" to be depressed; this then makes a virtue out of a period of life when beset by hormonal changes young people may indeed experience mood swings including depression.

Although Martha says she identifies with this group she tells me that she does not really have too many friends from school that she sees outside of school. She expresses unhappiness about her relationships with other girls and speaks about falling out with them on more than one occasion.

7 Flexible Sexuality

The "Emo" culture also celebrates/advocates bisexuality. In an unrecorded meeting when Diane is present, Martha says that she has previously had relationship with girls. Several of the young people claim that their generation is much more accepting of differences in sexuality.

- Margaret So a boy in this school if he came out and said to everybody in the school 'like I'm gay', like he wouldn't get a hard time from anyone?
- Diane No he would. Like I know my friend Jack does, I know he gets a hard time. But it's like it's a minority of people ...yeah 'cause he's really popular and people really like him and stuff.... so aye, and he's like, you get the occasional like comment and that but...
- Margaret What about girls who are gay or lesbian?
- Diane Yeah I think it, I think again it depends how sort of masculine they are. 'Cause you can get, like if it gets a bit more really kind of masculine it's like you can get the nasty comments and stuff. But I still think its like, people aren't too bothered
- Margaret So it's quite cool really for folk to be gay if they want to be?
- Diane Yeah. Or for like the EMO like craze and that was like, like "I'm straight, I'm bi, I'm gay, I'm bi again, I'm gay again, I'm bi again, I'm straight again" and stuff so people are probably just used to it. (Diane 18/4/07)

Jack, according to Diane and Martha, also describes himself as an "Emo".

Diane suggests here that while a minority of pupils might give people a hard time on the grounds of their sexuality in general young people were more accepting. This claim is evidenced during a Drama class game of fruit salad,

I struggle to participate with the building a shed game but participate in the fruit salad game with which I am familiar. This game involves sitting in chairs in a circle and there is one chair missing so one person has to stand. This person says something like "everyone with black shoes swap seats" to get the others to move seats. The standing person then grabs a seat and sits down and someone else is left standing and so it goes on. At one point Jack is the person standing and asks everyone who is gay to swap seats. One girl "brunette ponytail" moves but another girl "spiky blonde" stays sitting and is entreated by "brunette ponytail" to move because she too is gay. She does and she is left standing. There is a lot of humour between these two girls and Jack. Jack is very shy around me but very confident with his friends. No-one else in the group

reacts to the open expressions of sexuality. It seems notable to me however that Jack is the only boy in the group. (Field notes 12/3/07)

Diane's perspective on the "Emo" culture is that they are teenagers who essentially seek attention. One way to get attention is to declare that you are depressed and to say one week that you are gay and then that you are bisexual and to worry about how you are going to tell your parents.

Yeah I think like with the Emo thing it's because people like want to stand out and be different. And but at the same time they don't want to stand out or be different because they don't want to run the risk of other people judging them. Just like getting pulled up and like beaten up. (Diane 1.3.07)

Diane's description of "Emos" as those merely seeking attention expresses an irritation with this form of behaviour and may perhaps be a veiled criticism of Martha from whom she has become estranged. She also highlights the role of sub-cultural groups in creating a collective sense of belonging or identity within which young people can safely construct identities by marking their difference to others outside their group.

The "Emo" culture's relaxed attitude to sexuality reflects recent cultural changes in relation to greater acceptance of homosexuality evidenced in the introduction of civil partnerships for gay couples, and openly gay figures in public life from television, to business, to parliament. The young people who are the focus of this study also live in a city where there is an active and visible gay scene and several of them talk about friends of their parents being gay or lesbian. They also describe the ongoing presence of discriminatory attitudes and simultaneous lack of acceptance reflected in the use of the terms gay or lesbian as terms of abuse.

If you don't like football you are classified as gay. If you wear different shoes or make you are classified as gay, if you have cheaper crisps you are classified as gay, it's a lot of things, ... (Peter 23/4/07)

Although obviously referring to the way boys may tease each other, Peter highlights here that the expression of taste can classify people on the basis of gender and

sexuality as well as class. While Peter is clear in advocating that there is nothing wrong with being gay or bisexual, he also sees it as an insult to be called gay if you are straight. He thinks that boys still use gay as a term of abuse because,

..they are a bit scared of them because they are worried that if a man, 'cause men can over power men, and that's why some men are frightened because they might do something, which they won't do because... well some might because they are a bit weird, even straight people are, but its just kind of the type of mood they are in as well, but see if.. see cause I met quite a lot of... about five gay people, and they are fine, the voice is a bit annoying but that's just... cause I am quite young, eh, I don't really get adapted to it yet, its not really annoying but its just kind of different, but they say... they talk to me like I am normal and I talk to them like normal.... (Peter 23/4/07)

Several young people suggest that someone's sexuality is visible not only in their tastes but in the way they walk, talk and their gestures. This can be viewed as a male performance of femininity;

My other best friend is Jack but he is gay so I don't know if that counts, he does think rather femininely (Martha 26/4/07)

Gay people [...] can be really bitchy (Diane 18/4/07)

Or as Diane suggests in relation to lesbian girls a female rendition of masculinity,

Margaret What about girls who are gay or lesbian?

Diane Yeah I think it, I think again it depends how sort of masculine they are. 'Cause you can get, like if it gets a bit more really kind of masculine it's like you can get the nasty comments and stuff. But I still think its like, people aren't too bothered (Diane 18/4/07)

Butler (1990) argues that all displays of gendered behaviour are representations of how someone has learned to perform femininity or masculinity and these are made durable by the fact they are rehearsed over time. In this sense then expressed femininity and masculinity are not representative of inherent characteristics but are learned behaviours, normative constructions of what it means to be a man or a woman. When a boy or man's disposition or style is seen to be "feminine", or a girl or woman's disposition or style is "masculine," pupils indicate that these are still seen to be implied criticisms, highlighting the power of normative moral codes governing the "acceptable" performance of gender.

The fact that negative attitudes are still prevalent towards gay people means that there is value for young people who want the freedom to define their own sexuality in identifying with a group such as "Emos" who aside from the affectation of a misunderstood, depressed demeanour, constructs bisexuality as an asset and rejects imposed versions of acceptable or valued sexuality.

The self identified "Emos" I observe in the school (in addition to Martha) and described by other young people are predominantly male identifiable on the basis of their slightly "camp" style of dress or demeanour, heavily fringed haircuts, flexible performance of sexuality, affectations of depression and perceived attention seeking behaviour. In addition to resisting conformist representations of heterosexuality, this subculture also makes a virtue out of the social construction of teenagers as hormonal, depressed and attention seeking.

8 Conclusion

This chapter further highlights that young people's constructions of identity as citizens are mediated by habitus, field and capital. The young people construct distinct gender identities and illustrate that constructions of gender are conditioned by and inextricably implicated with class and, as we shall see in the next chapter, with ethnicity. While the young people make clear that their identities are not fixed or indeed unitary, only certain subjectivities or identities are available to different young people. Layla can shed her "Chav" identity and wear expensive clothes but can still be conceived to be "Chavvish" or a "Ned girl" by other young people. Despite the embellishment of expensive brands, she is still defined by a classed habitus. Her disposition, performance of femininity, clothes and style do, however, confer the social advantage or cultural capital of being defined as "popular" in the social field of the school. Being able to embody normative conceptions of good looks and style does grant social rewards so makes sense for Layla, Sandra, Fiona, Nina, Freddie, Paul, Darren, Suri, Sunni and their other contemporaries to pursue.

It can be observed that appearance and the body are used by young women from all social backgrounds as a site for generating worth or social value, an embodied form of cross cultural socially legitimated symbolic capital that constructs successful femininity as associated in a key regard with heterosexual desire and being unthreatening to men (McRobbie 2009). Some feminist writers have characterised this subconscious female adherence to behaviour which avoids threatening the power of men as having a "male in the head" (Holland et al 1998, Hey 1997). Bourdieu (1989:19) also argues that the power of habitus lies in the thoughtlessness with which people engage in practices because they have become habituated rather than consciously conforming to social rules and regulations. Young women's constructions of femininity highlight an unconscious sense of women's place. Both boys' and girls' conceptions of popularity as linked to appearance and capacity to wear desirable branded gear also suggests conformity to contemporary media - driven, consumer culture where success is linked to appearance and ability to acquire things. As a number of the young people highlight this can be experienced as either, individualising, anxiety provoking and isolating; or an avenue for social success.

Diane and Martha's constructions of "Emos" suggest a subculture that makes a virtue out of the conception of teenagers as angst-ridden, alongside celebrating changing attitudes towards sexuality. Although Emos affiliations are conceived as largely posturing by Diane, Martha's very real experience of depression and their friend Jack's negotiation of a gay identity highlight that identity groups like Emos can be utilised as a resource by young people to establish social legitimacy by identifying with a collective who to some degree represent their personal experience.

Although physical appearance and attracting girls matters to boys, the dominant cultural narrative for boys is not about accommodating the power of young women but about avoiding the negative reaction (including physical violence) of other young men. Both boys and girls constructions of identity are implicitly shaped by dominant male power. This chapter also makes clear that while these contemporary young people are aware of and rehearse changing attitudes in relation to gender and

sexuality this cannot be conceived to represent a wholesale de-traditionalisation of gender or sexuality (Adkins 2004). The young people's discourse highlights that despite awareness that traditional gender identity might not accurately reflect their experience of who people are - conventional heterosexual identities are still represented as shaping the gold standard against which other identities are measured and in this sense are still conceived to have greater cultural capital in the wider world.

Significantly the males and females that young people describe as most powerful or popular in the school, described as "Neddish" or "Chavvish", can be observed to mobilise constructions of masculinity and femininity in public space that to a significant extent draw on traditional models, implying that these constructions continue to be hegemonic. All young people irrespective of background are vulnerable to measuring themselves against this normative conception of gendered physical attractiveness and social success. A dominant male pupil in school space, then, can be observed to perform a conception of hegemonic masculinity that is: loud, boisterous, opinionated, bold in occupying space, physical with peers, seeking to be a source of humour, potentially provocative or challenging to adults and peers, and sometimes ostentatiously interested in football. A dominant female pupil in school space can also be observed to be loud, opinionated, provocative and challenging to adults and peers. They will however, perform an almost exaggerated version of hegemonic femininity. This will involve flamboyant public displays of make-up application, hair combing, adjusting of clothing and general preening, a performance which can both serve to convey general disinterest in the pedagogical purpose of a classroom and to illustrate the body and personal appearance as an important site for female self worth and social success (Skeggs 1997). This conception is particularly embodied by Layla and verbalised in her argument that popularity in school requires that "you've got to look good, be up with the fashions, wear designer clothes always have your hair looking good and your make-up looking good."

These constructions of dominant femininity and masculinity are also conceived to be performed by young people who are "Neddish" and "Chavish," implicitly defined as working class. A working class counter culture (particularly visible in lower streamed

classes) which is resistant to the cultural capital ascribed to academic achievers seeks cultural capital by drawing on traditional constructions of femininity and masculinity. Some working class boys and girls can be seen to use the body, appearance and public displays of confidence in their construction of gender as a resource in establishing cultural capital - a socially legitimized and authoritative status.

In working to achieve a practical mastery of the social world of the secondary school pupil, young people can unconsciously conform to *and enforce* dominant cultural norms of behaviour which tacitly accept a culturally ascribed social position (Bourdieu (1984) 2002: 235). Butler's (1990) argument that there is no subject prefiguring gendered identity that gender is constituted by the expressions that are said to be its results, performed via "the stylized repetition of acts through time" challenges naturalised concepts of gender identity (Butler 2006: 61). In this sense young people misrecognise socially and culturally constructed representations of masculinity and femininity as representative of "intrinsic" or "natural" characteristics, exemplified in their constructions of gay male and female lesbian identities as respectively "feminine" or "masculine".

It is also important to note that for these contemporary young people social success is also linked to modes of consumption. Young people indicate brand awareness and highlight the desirability of expensive designer labels. Consumption and popular culture in the form of music, films, computer games and TV programmes are regularly cited as sources in the construction and performance of sub-cultural identities. In the context of a national economy increasingly dependent on consumption rather than production, children and young people have been increasingly targeted by advertisers as consumers in their own right (Bauman 2001, Schor 2004, Mayo 2005). Contemporary popular culture makes diverse identities visible but can also be linked to a pressure to conform to traditional conceptions of masculinity or femininity (Schor 2004, Mayo 2005, McRobbie 2009). Consumption is heavily implicated, as Boden et al (2004: 22) argue, in "the production and exaggeration of gender identities".

Young people do however mobilise constructions of femininity or masculinity which contrast with this normative conception, often because they do not have the habitus necessary to fit these models. How far they succeed in achieving cultural capital depends on the cultural resources they have at their disposal and the cultural value diverse gendered habitus or embodied disposition may be ascribed in different social contexts. A range of commentators have highlighted the rise of identity politics in contemporary times, the social justice claims of diverse identity groups provoking debate on whether action for social justice should focus on class politics (i.e. redistribution) or identity politics (i.e. recognition) (Fraser 1997, 2001, Butler 1998, Young 1997, Honneth 2001, Fraser and Honneth 2003). "Justice" is advanced as one of the values on which "Scottish society is based" and which young people "should learn about and develop" in school as an aspect of education for citizenship (HMIe 2006, SE 2004). Young people highlight in this chapter that identities ascribed by class, gender and sexuality are significant in negotiating culturally valued identities in school space. Constructions of diverse ethnic identities are explored in the next chapter.

In brief, the data in this chapter highlights that while young people have a more reflexive attitude towards gender in contemporary times traditional models of femininity and masculinity are still hegemonic and shape young citizens' constructions of culturally valued identities.

Chapter Six: Fitting in and standing out: constructing ethnic identities

1 Introduction

The last two chapters explored young people's construction of classed and gendered identities. Class and gender continue to have cross cutting significance in this chapter but my specific focus here is on how young people construct ethnic identities. One of the key functions of citizenship education is envisaged as promoting social cohesion (Kerr 2009) and is framed in the Scottish context as ensuring that "young people learn about and develop" the shared national values "on which Scottish society is based" (Curriculum Review Group, Learning and Teaching Scotland 2008). It has been argued that mass education creates "the assumption of national culture" (Meyer 1977: 69) which suggests that young people will acquire a sense of Scottish identity because they are engaged in a distinctly Scottish education system which inculcates an assumption of a separate national culture. This chapter explores what assumptions about the common culture of society are visible in the meaning making of young people.

Osler and Starkey (2005a) have argued that citizenship is frequently defined as having two key aspects; status and practice. Citizenship as status relates to the rights and duties associated with belonging to a nation state and citizenship as practice is more associated with human rights, democracy and interdependence with others. They argue, however, that citizenship is most "immediately experienced as a feeling of belonging" (Osler & Starkey 2005a: 9). This links citizenship to identity but Osler and Starkey (2005a:13) make the point that having the legal status of citizen does not preclude the social exclusion of people with culturally or socially devalued identities. An individual may be a legal citizen of a country but may not necessarily experience a sense of belonging. Status implies recognition by others, being socially valued. Osler and Starkey highlight that the status concept of citizenship in the UK context has often been invoked in nationalist discourses which aim to exclude asylum seekers and deny citizenship (Osler and Starkey 2005:11). Citizenship can be

understood then, as a legal status which bestows recognition of a person's right to belong to a nation by ensuring social rights to benefits such as housing, education, medical services and welfare provision. Citizenship has been linked in the context of immigration debates to identity politics and ethnic minority people's struggles (including those who are British born) to gain recognition not only of their right to belong but to have a socially valued status equitable with their White counterparts. Young people's constructions of identity in this chapter highlight that a Scottish citizenship identity and the associated sense of belonging is largely taken for granted by White Scottish young people in a way not perceived as possible by Scottish young people from a Pakistani background. Asian Scottish young people's meaning making and construction of identities is shaped by a social field in which their religious background and cultural heritage are not conceived as Scottish.

Scotland's population has, historically, always been multi-cultural encompassing the Picts, Gaels, Welsh, Norse and Anglo-Saxon with their associated varied languages although predominantly White (Watson 2003). Asian people began coming to Scotland as long ago as the mid-nineteenth century but this increased significantly after the Second World War as a consequence of the increased demand for labour and their status as British citizens instituted by the 1948 British Nationality Act. Scots have, however, more often emigrated than been a host country for immigrants. As McCrone (2003a) asserts while 10% of the population in Scotland in 2003 were not Scottish, a larger proportion (15%) of Scots were living in England. The largest ethnic minority population in Scotland, recorded uniquely in the Scottish Census, are other white British (- non Scottish). However, the minority ethnic population in Scotland is small compared with other areas of the UK - approximately 2% of the population according to the 2001 Census, as opposed to 7.9% in the UK as a whole. The largest visible ethnic minority population according to these figures are people of Pakistani origin who are also the highest proportion, (approximately 1%), of visible ethnic minorities to have been born in Scotland. A study into minority ethnic pupils' experience of Scottish schools (MEPESS) (Arshad, Almeida Dinez et al. 2004) found that the largest majority of visible ethnic minority pupils across all

sectors were of Pakistani origin. The Commission for Racial Equality in Scotland contends that recent factors, such as migration from recent EU accession countries - Poland in particular- means that the true proportion of ethnic minority residents in Scotland is likely to be closer to 4% (Commission for Racial Equality 2007).

The pupil population of Rosefield Academy reflects this era of globalisation where there is increasing mobility of people across national boundaries. During the period of my study it is easy to observe a substantial minority of pupils from Eastern Europe (mainly Poland) attending the school, in addition to pupils from China, Iraq, France or of Pakistani or Indian origin. During the time I am there pupils arrive from Poland, Estonia, China and France and at least one young woman arrives and returns to her native Iraq heightening this sense of transient mobile populations. Gilroy (1997:304) offers the concept of Diaspora (- the scattering of peoples across the world as a consequence of war, famine, seeking social and economic opportunities etc. and the consequent opening up of cultures to new influences and pressures -) as a challenge to essential and absolute identity sometimes invoked either as a basis for social solidarity or to exclude. Ethnic or religious identities are highlighted in this chapter by young people for whom a Scottish national identity cannot be taken for granted.

2 Ethnicity and Scottish nationalism

Only Sunni and Suri, amongst the core study participants are Scottish Asian of Pakistani origin. All the other core study participants are White Scottish or in Paul's case White English. Of the friends who participate in group discussions only Paul's friend Arun is English Asian, also of Pakistani origin.

Participants talk in a limited way about their ethnicity as Scottish. It only becomes a defining feature where they have been located in a context where their identity as Scottish was in the minority. Darren, for example, spent six months living in London and in this context he describes being Scottish as a positive identity, a source of pride

and describes it in nationalistic terms as somewhere he loves, would fight for and defend.

Patriotic that's the first thing that came straight into my head as soon as you says Scottish... I am just proud to be Scottish. It's like my whole family comes from Scotland, so just proud, I don't know why.... When it came to it you would fight for your country and you would actually love where you come from, and if you moved you would still class Scotland as your home, no matter where you stay (Darren 25/1/07).

Darren contrasts this with a stereotype of Scottish people as being "loud, ginger and drunk". The expression "ginger" refers to being red-headed, implicitly distinguishing Scottish people as White. An understanding of the stereotype of Scottish people is repeated by Diane in relation to a conversation on being a young citizen of Scotland,

Like fighting and drinking and stuff and taking drugs and that. It's quite, it's quite like a stereotypical Scottish, like opinion on Scottish people... if you are like sort of a teenager anyway like get quite a lot of sort of bad press and stuff like hoodies and mugging people and that. And then like Scottish people have quite bad press as well. So if you are a Scottish teenager you don't really have much, much luck but like I think people just assume that it's like, from the age of like twelve you like, you are sitting in the park like drinking like, I don't know, like drinking like Buckie and like... or like Tesco vodka and smoking joints and just going fighting and stuff (Diane 18/4/07).

However when Darren is asked why he feels patriotic, what he feels is good about being Scottish he says "being loud - a lot louder" than "average Joes, people from England". Darren highlights that identity is often established by the marking of difference from something or someone else and in the case of Scotland or Scottish identity, this is often England or the English (Hall 1996; Gilroy 1997). Paul comments in relation to being English and living in Scotland

Everyone pretends to hate you but really they don't, they are two countries but they're just the same, just different attitudes towards each other. Scotland isn't pure, it's a mixture and so is England and Wales (Paul 5/2/07)

Hearn (2000) has traced the recent resurgence of Scottish nationalism and its association with conceptions of Scottish cultural identity.

Scots are used to living in the cultural shadow of England, having their history, language and culture measured against an English standard. For centuries Scots have

been told that historical progress is a matter of following England's example. Getting ahead has often meant suppressing the Scots language and approximating norms of middle class English speech- and even leaving Scotland altogether. Scottish culture has tended to be crudely stereotyped, portrayed as quaint and romantic, a pastiche of kilts, clans and bagpipes, and somehow suspended in a distant past, no longer truly relevant. These images and attitudes have been created as much by the Scots, especially expatriates and the middle class, as by the English. But the result none the less has been a legacy of resentment....(Hearn 2000:3)

A popular conception is that Scottish cultural sensibilities are more egalitarian than those of the English, evidenced in the limited number of conservatives who have been able to gain seats in national parliamentary elections in the last 20 - 30 years. Northern England and Wales, however, could also argue a similar resistance to conservative policies (Hearn 2000). Hearn argues, however, that in the Scottish context that the political and the cultural "cannot be fully disarticulated" (Hearn 2000:4). Claims of a universal Scottish national identity can serve political purposes. Hearn (2000:1) highlights the evocation of a Scottish identity rooted in egalitarian values by Scots author, William MacIlvanney during SNP campaigns for Scottish self determination - "Scottish history I think demonstrates constantly, a terrible desire for fairness..." This conception of Scottish egalitarianism is often highlighted as myth. It is important to note, however, that "myths" do not mean the same as untruths,

Myths are general guides to interpret complex social reality. They operate as reservoirs of beliefs and values which allow individuals to interpret the world and their place within it (McCrone 2003b:239).

McCrone et al. (1982:130) suggest a distinction between egalitarianism and equality. Egalitarianism, they argue, is a set of social values, a social ethos, a celebration of sacred beliefs, whereas social inequality characterises the distribution of resources and opportunities. The important point, then, is not that resources in Scotland, unlike England, are equitably distributed which clearly they are not but rather that the ideology of egalitarianism is given cultural value in Scotland and has become associated with Scottish national identity. The egalitarian theme is visible in a Scottish literary focus on "common folk," e.g. Burns'- "a man's a man for a' that" or Lewis Grassie Gibbons' *Sunset Song* (McCrone et al 1982). Hearn's (2000:153)

research into the nationalist movement in Scotland confirmed a hegemonic Scottish ideal of redistributive welfare provision and egalitarian values. He also notes that perceptions of Scottish egalitarianism are also confirmed by egalitarian sympathisers who are English or not Scottish by origin indicating that despite the reality of social inequality in Scotland, "the hegemony of the Scottish ideal of the redistributive welfare state is palpable" and appealing to those who share that ideal. Since 1979 the assertion of specifically Scottish identities has strengthened although Scots people may also claim a British identity (McCrone and Paterson 2002). Hearn (2000:5) points out that there is a tendency for Labour and SNP supporters, who are collectively predominant in Scotland, to privilege their "Scottish" over their "British" identities and to identify as "working class" regardless of their structural class position. Rosie(2003) also suggests that Scottish people are much more likely than English people to claim to be working class irrespective of "objective" class position and links this to the predominance of left wing sympathies. McCrone (2003a:8) also asserts

Being Scottish and defining oneself as working class, even when people are in middle class jobs, is a feature of identity politics in Scotland

To be working class then can be seen to have a valued status specifically linked to Scottish national identity. Layla highlights this point when she makes reference to using Scottish words implying that to show she is Scottish is a source of pride,

I'll pronounce my words and stuff but I show people that I'm Scottish and I'm using the Scottish language because I always say 'ken' and 'aye' and stuff like that and it's like 'cos I just want to show people that I'm fae Scotland and this is how we talk (Layla 9/11/06).

In her defence of her use of the words "ken" and "aye" Layla conflates these patterns of speech with a Scottish identity rather than a working class identity but not all Scottish people use these words in their everyday speech as their use is not perceived to be "proper" English (Fairclough 2001). Working class identities are no more universal in Scotland than anywhere else but as Layla suggests aspects of a working class habitus can be conceived to have cultural capital if linked to the unifying theme of national identity and in particular disassociation with England. However if linked

to a habitus conceived to have less cultural capital associated with, for example, a current experience of poverty, as was shown in chapter 4, disassociation rather than celebration of working class characteristics might be more likely (Skeggs 1997). While Layla and Darren take pride in being Scottish they do not celebrate their working class identities in the same way. In this they highlight their understanding that a White Scottish habitus has cultural capital in the social field of Scotland. The framing of Scottish egalitarian identity as "not English" does not take account of inequalities associated with gender, race and class within Scottish culture. Women and ethnic minorities are more likely to be poor and in Scotland one in five children are considered to live in relative poverty according to government statistics - one in four children according to the Child Poverty Action Group (Scottish Government 2008b; Child Poverty Action Group 2007). The area where this school based study is located encompasses one of the largest populations of people conceived to be in social need in the city (CEC 2008).

Paul suggests that it almost a taken for granted that as a Scottish person you should hate the English but that in his experience this was not really rooted in reality. When Paul says Scotland "isn't pure, it's a mixture" he says he means that, like England, everyone is not the same in Scotland. Paul's friendship group includes Scottish boys and another English boy who is also a Muslim.

3 Ethnicity and religion

Suri and Sunni are significant in defining their cultural group in relation to their religion which is Muslim. Although none of the young people aside from Sunni and in particular Suri, express a particular commitment to a religion they do sometimes identify as Christian or Catholic and highlight the cultural dominance of Christianity.

But there's also another reason 'cause I think Christian is quite a big religion. Cause everybody, well not everybody but most people believe in Christianity and some do and some don't. But when I hear a religion the first thing that goes in my head is Christian and then the second thing would be no religion and then it would be Islam (Peter 5/2/07)

While Peter does describe himself as a Christian, his perception was that the largest group after Christians are people who do not believe in any religion.

I could've went to the Catholic school. I was actually in the catchment [area] for a Catholic school but I only came here because my friends came here. There was only about 3 people from my school going to [school] so I didn't really want to go there but, now, I've got a lot of friends from [school] and they're actually not Catholic though. There are a lot of people at [school] who aren't Catholic and there are a lot of people here who are Catholic (Layla 20/2/07)

While Layla is aware there are differences between Catholic and Protestant she isn't sure what these are "I'm Catholic and I don't really understand the Protestant Catholic thing" (Layla 20/2/07). Peter also expresses confusion - "I'm a Christian but I don't know which Catholic or Protestant" (Peter 5/2/07).

Paul talks with affection about the Catholic school he had attended in England, which appears closely related to missing friends and family in England. Darren also talks about having attended the local Catholic school that Layla refers to but not having a happy time there. The religious denomination of a school seems less important to Layla, Darren and Paul than who was there. On the whole religious affiliations are fairly irrelevant between White pupils in this part of Scotland. In relation to the school's different youth subcultures, Peter (5/2/07) feels all the different religions represented in the school which he identifies as "Christian - Protestant and Catholic, Islam, Sikh, Jewish, Hindu", would be part of the majority group he defines as "normal."

...you can't really tell people by its covers and all that cause they are different. But probably I would think all religions would probably end up being normal probably (Peter 5/2/07)

Suri says she has "never heard" of Catholic and Protestant (Sunni and Suri 1/2/07). Suri is attending the Alternative Education Department because it was Ramadan, when I meet her, and as she is fasting she has been excused from Physical Education. She sits with Sunni who is her friend and is a quiet presence. Suri spent three years in Pakistan studying the Koran. She joined the school in second year and didn't know anyone. She met Sunni in English class. Suri wears a headscarf or hijab to cover her

hair at all times. She explains to me that she does this to show she follows her religion seriously. She believes that if she follows the teachings of Allah then she will go to Paradise.

Well...I mean you have to wear it when you are over twelve but some people don't. I mean not everyone wears it. I wear it when you follow the religion but...we've got this...it's a bit complicated but we've got like paradise 'n hell, you know. And obviously if we were to go to paradise 'cause what we believe that when we are going to die we are going to come back alive. And then we're going to get our like tests and whatever we've done wrong and right in this world. And if we did good things we'd go to paradise and if we've not we'd go to hell (Suri - Sunni and Suri 11/1/07).

Sunni does not wear a headscarf and while Suri prays several times a day and attends prayer at the Mosque more than once a week Sunni says the last time she was at the Mosque was for Eid – a religious festival celebrated throughout the Muslim world. Sunni made the point to me that she dresses differently at home and that is related to her culture:

..obviously we wear like different kind of culture's clothes like, you know what I mean, cause we believe in a faith, we are like Muslims and that, so we wear like culture's clothes like that you can see, eh, like with embroidery and stuff on it. (Sunni 25/1/07)

Paul Gilroy (1997) points out that identity depends on the marking of difference and that identity can help us understand what he calls “that fateful pronoun “we”” and to deal with the “patterns of inclusion or exclusion that it cannot help but create” (Gilroy 1997:302). In common with all the young people I speak to Sunni and Suri assert their identity by aligning themselves with a “we” who as Sunni describes here are people who are Muslims. This “we” is not uniform and Sunni and Suri embody different representations of what it means to be a Muslim young woman. Although unlike Suri, Sunni did not wear a hijab, Sunni comments that she prefers to wear her “culture's clothes” although the school uniform prevents her from wearing these at school. She said she is more comfortable in her culture's clothes because it is what she is used to.

It just depends on like the culture in the background, maybe because of that, 'cause I was brought up in those, that type of culture, so if we had been brought up in that type

of culture then you will get used to like the clothing and the food and that kind of stuff (Sunni 25/1/07)

However when asked if she would describe herself as Scottish or thought of herself as Scottish first rather than Muslim, she says

Don't know, to be honest I have never thought about that... But like I was born here so I don't know, maybe Scottish first (Sunni 25/1/07)

In this comment Sunni highlights the fact that being Scottish is something that on some level she took for granted. We then move on to discuss the meaning of Scottish,

Like when people think about something to associate with Scottish people you just think kilts and like...this is Robert Burns day (Sunni 25/1/07)

Sunni seems to highlight here Billig's (1995) point about banal nationalism, the fact that it is, as she says, Burns day is being reinforced in the Scottish media, in local events and in traditional images of Scottish culture that are taken for granted but easily visible. Sunni goes on to ask me questions about how I will celebrate Burns night, "Are you having haggis?" "What is haggis?", and my religion "Are you Catholic?" in a way that marks out a difference between her "type of culture" and Scottish culture. In the course of our conversation the latter is constructed as *my* (a White Scottish woman's) culture rather than hers. In doing this Sunni effectively illustrates that she does not perceive her own culture as "Scottish" and how in traditional Scottish terms she, a Scottish girl, might be framed as "other." Darren however also includes people not born in Scotland in his definition of Scottish

...if you have made sacrifices and made sacrifices to get here and had to fight to get across, sacrificed your own country and life yeah you would be classed as Scottish because you would sacrifice all that just to come and live here so that would class you as Scottish (Darren 25/1/07).

Virdee (2003:94) suggests that the rise of Scottish nationalism and its focus on the perceived disadvantages of the Union with England, subverted simplistic associations made in England between industrial decline and migrant labour.

Gilroy(1987)has argued for example that in England, "blackness" and "Englishness" were constructed as mutually exclusive categories. Virdee suggests, however, that in Scotland racism has not been a central element in establishing Scottish identity encouraging South Asians to describe themselves as Scottish-Asian or Scottish-Muslim. This argument would appear to be supported by the Scottish Social Attitudes survey, conducted by the Scottish Centre for Social Research in 2005, which found that a Scottish accent was the pivotal factor for the vast majority of people in accepting the claim of a non-white person who was born in Scotland to be 'Scottish' (MCrone 2006). This tolerant image, might not, however, give a complete picture. Al Qaeda suicide attacks in New York and Washington in September, 2001 were followed by high profile political claims of a "war on terror" and USA/UK driven retaliatory wars in the predominantly Muslim countries of Afghanistan and Iraq. Political statements and media coverage did not always full clarify the distinction between terrorism, Islamic fundamentalism and Muslim people in general. These conceptual waters were further muddied in the publicity following suicide bombings by young British Muslims of the London Underground in July 2005. Suri raises the issue of the negative associations that can be made with Islamic religion in one of our first unrecorded meetings.

Suri explains that she will only be attending the Base for another couple of weeks after the holidays when Ramadan finishes and she is no longer fasting. We talk a bit about attitudes towards people who are Muslims and Suri says that she feels that now everyone assumes all Muslims are terrorists. She talks about her family being singled out and stopped at customs when no others were because they had come from Pakistan. All their bags were searched and they were kept there for hours. She talks about a relative who was stopped on his way to Pakistan and delayed so much he missed his plane (Field notes 12/10/06).

A Scottish Social Attitudes Survey conducted by Scottish Government Social Research in 2006 found that attitudes specifically towards Muslims had changed in recent years.

In 2003 38% said that Scotland would begin to lose its identity if more Muslims came to live here; by 2006 this had increased to 50%. Over the same period there was a four point increase in the proportion who said they would be unhappy about a relative forming a relationship with a Muslim person (Bromley et al. 2007:4).

A Scottish identity is not understood here to encompass diverse religious affiliations including the Muslim religion. It may be culturally possible to be accepted as Scottish and also Asian, for example, but to still be discriminated against on the basis of ethnic origin.

Sunni comments that she only feels closer to her Scottish relatives because she can see them more often than the ones in England - the bonds are related to proximity rather than Scottish national identity. Attending school in Scotland Sunni, Suri and Paul are located a social field that does not wholly reflect their habitus, where a traditional White Scottish identity is perceived to have greater cultural capital.

4 Not Like "Us"

During one meeting I comment on Sunni's hair which is very long and luxuriant. Later in the meeting Suri takes her headscarf or hijab off and reties it. Aside from the apparent response to my commenting on Sunni's hair by showing me that she too has nice hair, this feels to me like a very intimate act in that it was probably not something she would do in public. I am struck how I, as a White woman, could be in danger of framing Suri and Sunni as "other" and that is an attitude reflected in responses of both pupils and teachers.

'Cause there's like, there was, there is a couple of girls in the year above me. Like obviously last year. And I think people just kind of thought they were more stuck up than anything else because they wouldn't sort of talk to, to other people and stuff. I don't know. I mean I've got like a couple of friends who are Muslim and really nice and lovely and stuff. And it's, I suppose it's quite a big gap between being Muslim and being sort of protestant and they get on fine so.... I don't really see them so much at the weekend. But that's more to do with groups of friends because I know that they see like other, my other, like other friends I have and stuff at the weekends (Diane 18/4/07)

In addition to highlighting that she sees two Muslim girls as friends, Diane makes the point that Muslim girls can be seen to be "stuck up" because they apparently don't opt to spend time with White girls. Layla makes a similar point about boys of Asian descent,

In my craft and design class, the 2 Asian boys, they stick together, they don't try and have a talk with us or try and get involved in our conversations at all, they just keep themselves to themselves. It's quite weird (Layla 20/2/07)

and in relation to pupils of Asian descent in general,

"It's just weird but the Asians do hang about with each other" (Layla 20/2/07)

The expression "they just keep themselves to themselves" is also used by a teacher about Sunni and Suri.

The teacher comes and sits next to me and talks about the different groups in the class. [...] He says "Sunni and Suri at the front there tend to keep themselves to themselves" (Field notes 12/3/07)

This concept of "Asian" pupils "keeping themselves to themselves" places the responsibility for "fitting in" on ethnic minority pupils. The reason they are perceived as "apart" is as a consequence of their actions, their decision to "keep themselves to themselves." The implication is that the cultural minority must fit in with the dominant cultural majority which assumes that the cultural minority are not an integral part of the cultural majority. Scottish culture is being assumed to be characterised by a White habitus rather than plural multi-cultural identities. Edward Said (1978) famously coined the phrase Orientalism to describe the way people in the West would frame people from the East (the Orient) as exotic, in culturally hegemonic terms as "not like us" – this then circumvents the need to understand and learn from different cultural practices creating an emotional distance which justifies colonialist practice in Western interests not those of the local people. Young people do on occasion try to ascribe young people of different religion or ethnic background with essential distinguishing characteristics. Sunni tries to argue on one occasion that you can tell a Muslim girl by looking at her "Cause you can tell by their face, you know like you can tell in a way." Suri disputes this saying "I can't always tell if someone is like Hindu or a Muslim" (Sunni and Suri 7/11/06). Layla also argues that you can tell the Polish pupils in the school by the colour of their skin. She then modifies this by saying it is their style of dress.

Everybody knows the Polish kids but they don't actually know who they are. You can kind of tell by looking at them, you know they're foreign (Layla 20/2/07)

Young people refer implicitly to "habitus" ways of dressing, standing, walking, talking, dispositions and social codes that are utilised to classify one another (Bourdieu 1977, 1984, 1989) Layla also talks about one boy in particular who she feels uses his "Asian" identity and charges of racism as a defence weapon.

If a teacher tells him off, he thinks they're being racist so he basically cries wolf about people being racist and he had to actually apologise to one of the helpers, the classroom helpers because he accused them of being racist when they weren't. They were just treating him the same as they treat everybody. He gets on with us, it sounds weird saying 'us' because we're like one community but ... He gets on with most people but he's just quite annoying in that context because he thinks he can get away with anything because he's a different colour from us. That's what causes a lot of conflict between white people and Asian people because everything you say that comes out your mouth, they think it's racist if it's a bad word against them, they think it's racist and that's what causes a lot of conflict in the school between them, I think anyway (Layla 20/2/07).

Layla's comment "it sound weird saying "us" because we're like one community" highlights insight into the social distancing implicit in the concept of "them" and "us." While she states a sense that Asian and White pupils are part of one community, from her point of view there are young people in the school who have an unfair advantage in arguments between pupils because they can claim to have been subject to racist abuse. The school's anti-racist policy is very evident with the football inspired "Give Racism the Red Card" posters displayed in corridors and classrooms. All pupils understand that there is a policy of anti-racism in the school and that to be racist will lead to disciplinary action or expulsion.

I had a big argument with him a few weeks ago because he made a comment to me which was quite nasty but if I was to say something racist, I'd get chucked out of school for it (Layla 20/2/07)

While Martha makes a strong statement objecting to racism,

My dad is quite a racist person and I would always say "Dad, do you mind not saying that because I've got black and Asian friends and I kind of resent that..." (Martha 12/1/07)

Two of Sandra and Fiona's friends also highlight Layla's sense that different rules apply to Black and White people,

- Linda Like if a White person says something racist to a Black person then it's like an outrage but if it's the other way round then it's not because it's ok for a Black person to say something about a White person.
- Kieren that's an example of how people see it, how the person actually takes it, like if someone was like to say something to us racial we would be like shut up (*laid back tone*), but if it was to Black people they would go ooh racist... (Sandra and Fiona's friends 2/3/07)

Kieren appears to construct racism as related to individual perception but his comments also hint at an understanding that people may receive remarks differently as a consequence of their differential social status. He and his friends would not be offended by a racist remark (White young people) but a racist remark would be experienced as a provocative insult by a Black person. Layla, Linda and Kieren , (who made their remarks in the presence of only White listeners) appear to suggest that the fact that Black or Asian people can charge others with racism, gives them a degree of power that they, as White young people, don't have. However, Suri highlights power differentials between social groups impacting on communication,

- Suri It depends on how many people are in the country, how much power they have got. For example in another country, like Pakistan, Pakistanis have more power if like a Jewish person goes or an Indian person goes, they won't have that much power because there are more of Pakistani people. So just up here like Christians have got more power because there are more Christians than other religions.
- Margaret Yeah, so it's about being in the minority kind of thing, makes you have less power in a school. So what does it mean if you have less power in the school, does it affect anything?
- Suri Sometimes.
- Margaret Like what?
- Suri Maybe people will be racist to you, like you can't say anything back or you are too scared or something.
- Margaret U huh, does that happen a lot?
- Suri Sometimes it does but not to us but some other people, like Big Brother – do you watch Big Brother? (Sunni and Suri 1/2/07)

Suri at this point begins to talk about a media furore centring on alleged racist bullying during the Big Brother reality television programme. Suri mentions that the programme had been discussed in her Modern Studies class. A female classmate had

raised it as a topic arguing that the woman in the programme who had been seen as the victim of racist bullying, Shilpa Shetty, had actually come out of the situation far better than the three White women accused of bullying. This debate had obviously had an impact on Suri and she continues the discussion in the meeting with Sunni and me. Having witnessed her quiet presence in her Modern Studies class I suspect she hadn't offered her opinion at the time of the class discussion.

- Suri But I think Shilpa has not done anything wrong, it just happened, that's what I think, because if you are in a place where you can't go outside or you have to stay in the same place you do sometimes start a fight, and it just happened, and even Shilpa says then, she never took it as racist. I mean she just thought it just happened as well, so...
- Sunni So how did they all manage to lose their job?
- Suri Because people, well everyone thinks that they are racist and all that. Well I think they were being a bit racist but it just happens, not everyone is perfect, everyone does make mistakes. That's what Shilpa said as well, we are all human beings and we all make mistakes, so...
- Margaret And did you know her before she went on that programme, had...
- Suri Yeah I watch her films and all that.
- Margaret Yeah, cause she is a big star isn't she.
- Suri She is quite a big star in Bollywood, and most of like Asians know them, and the Pakistani's all know her (Sunni and Suri 1/2/07)

It is notable that this Bollywood actress who Suri refers to by her first name and is keen to defend would have been relatively unknown to White pupils in the school. Shilpa Shetty has cultural capital or social status in a social field familiar to Sunni and Suri but still relatively alien to White pupils. However the presence of this actress in a television programme highly popular with young people reflects a global market for popular culture consumption which transcends national boundaries. Versions of the Big Brother television programme have been transmitted in countries across the world.

The position taken by the young woman in Suri's class questioning Shilpa Shetty's victim status in an incidence of racist bullying, resonates with the slightly resentful

statements made by White pupils, Layla, Keiren and Linda about the capacity of Asian or Black people to wield power by using the charge of racism. However Suri is very clear that Asian people have relatively little power and are in a vulnerable position because of their minority status. As Diane suggests "it's quite a big gap between being Muslim and being sort of Protestant" and as Paul (5/2/07) points out "There's only a few and they're out numbered."

Bourdieu (1984, 1987, 1989) highlights the micro-politics of power in different social fields. The distribution of the different forms of capital in social space, give the holder of capital different degrees of power. Suri to some degree articulates this when she points out that in the context of a Muslim country such as Pakistan, a Muslim person would have more power or symbolic capital in that a Muslim habitus (style of dress, language, way of talking, standing etc) would be socially legitimised and culturally valued. Suri highlights that a Muslim habitus may have limited symbolic capital in the social field of a predominantly White, Christian/Secular school. Her identification with "Shilpa" in a debate about the impact of racist bullying illuminates that while racism may not be overtly expressed towards her in school a vulnerable outsider status may be inferred by White pupils' subtle marking of difference between "them" and "us."

5 Cultural Visibility - Fitting In and fading into the background

Bourdieu (1989) points out that social structure can be "hidden" in the use of social space. In other words social structures can shape social relations or interactions. His argument appears reflected in the distribution and distancing of discrete groups of pupils throughout the school playground which signals complex differences in pupil status and power.

"Chav" and "Ned" girls are perceived (by "Goth" girls) to find sheltered parts of the playground "so their hair would not get messed up" and "geeks" are perceived by (a non geek) to find areas where "they could hide". The longer haired "Goths" or more

middle class pupils congregate between the side of the Base and the music department and the girls of Asian descent congregate around the bottom of the red stair an indoor area adjacent to the playground. The use of this playground space by the former group was well known by most of the pupils and teachers but where the Scottish/Asian girls gathered had often failed to be observed.

The 'Goths' hang about this bit beside the base, 5th years are over there, 2nd years are over there near the maths bit, the 1st years are near the bike sheds and everyone else is just scattered about. So, that's about it (Fiona 9/11/06)

We are different, yeah, but now like we are used to it so we don't really feel it because it's just like a normal thing that nobody notices you and all that, but like when you first come into a school then you do get noticed...

(Suri 7/11/06)

Suri makes the point that because there is a relatively substantial group of Scottish/Asian pupils in the school they can blend in more.

There are quite a few like Asians in the school as well, so it won't really make a difference because there are quite a few Asians so no one would really notice you as a different person. I mean, like, if in 1500 people there was only one Asian it would have been really difficult for that person as well, 'cause that person would have been the only one different. But now there is quite a few so it's not that big a thing... Nobody really cares; it's just, like... we are just, like, normal people. (Suri 7/11/06)

It has been pointed out that Bourdieu developed his theory without reference to racism (Sayer 2005). However Suri's comments in which she describes the experience of attending a school in which she is in a cultural minority are illuminated by Bourdieu's concept of "habitus". Suri uses the terms "different" and "normal". Suri and the other "Asian" young people are marked out as "different" and in a minority because of the colour of their skin and in Suri's case because, as a practising Muslim, she wears a headscarf or hijab covering her hair. She is different in the context of a dominant school culture where most pupils are White and the Muslim religion is in a minority - "only 30 Muslims in a school of 1500" as Sunni (7/11/06) asserts. However because there are more than one of them "nobody really cares", they can be conceived of as "normal". Bourdieu (1989:18) argues that while

individual "agents" might construct their own vision of the world this vision will be subject to "structural constraints". He argues that:

..the dispositions of agents, their habitus, that is the mental structures through which they inhabit the world are essentially the product of the internalisation of the structures of that world. As perceptive dispositions tend to be adjusted to position, agents, even the most disadvantaged ones, tend to perceive the world as natural and to accept it much more readily than one might imagine (Bourdieu 1989: 18).

So when Suri says "we are just like normal people" she seems to be implying that she and the other "Asians" in the school have become an accepted part of the culture of the school. Suri had come to the school in second year after spending three years in Pakistan and when she says "but now like we are used to it so we don't really feel it because it's just like a normal thing that nobody notices you and all that" she seems to be accepting "her place" as an "Asian" or Muslim in the social structure of the school (Bourdieu 1989). When asked about being left sitting on her own after a French teacher said everyone could sit where they wanted, Suri says that she didn't mind because she was "used to it". In the context of a Scottish secondary school Suri encounters a social setting, what Bourdieu (1984) would call "a field", that does not wholly reflect her own "habitus". Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) describe a match between habitus and field as follows,

..social reality exists so to speak, twice, in things and in minds, in fields and in habitus, outside and inside social agents. And when habitus encounters a social world of which it is the product, it is like a "fish in water"; it does not feel the weight of the water and it takes the world about itself for granted (p127)

For many young people then the social world of the school does not reflect the social world of which they are a product. Suri and Sunni's experience straddled differing social worlds in which the different forms of capital might be convergent or overlapping, and symbolised and embodied in differing styles of dress, language and modes of behaviour. In the context of the playground the "Asian" girls' relative invisibility suggests that in relation to cultural capital they barely feature on their White peers' social radar.

Diane, for example, is a keen follower of Ska music but when I asked her if there was a Black following at the gigs she went to given this music stemmed from Black culture she said she hadn't thought about it. It is possible to be fairly visible in terms of the colour of your skin in a school of predominantly White pupils but invisible in cultural terms. However Peter's comment that when he thinks of religion he thinks of Christianity, then no religion and then Islam highlights the current visibility of the Muslim religion in the national media.

However the presence of diverse cultural practices and cross cultural friendships in a pupil population creates the potential to disrupt the "taken for granted" nature of dominant cultural practices and media representations of the Islam religion. Paul is a relative newcomer to the area and to the school and one of his closest friends, Arun, is another relative outsider who is like Paul, English but different in being a Muslim.

I don't think religion comes between our friendship.... We talk about it because it's a bit complicated to me, so he has to explain stuff.... They're not allowed to eat meat, they have that thing where they are not allowed to eat all day and stuff like that.... They have their own religion. They have like their own community because they go to that place, church kind of thing..... I think they are more with their religion than Christians or Catholics - more strict about it... I am not too bothered about it 'cause it's terrorist kind of Muslims that I don't like (Paul 18/4/07)

6 Gendered ethnicity and cultural conformity

Suri seems to survive school by fading as much as possible into the background. Her mode of dress reflected a religious and moral code which advocates modesty for women. Sunni's style reflected the "girly girl" model of femininity prevalent amongst young women in the school. A cultural narrative which assumes the dominance of men is as significant for young women from a Muslim ethnic minority as it is for White Scottish young women but femininity is constructed similarly and differently. Like her White female contemporaries Suri for example highlights the significance of physical appearance for women and culturally specific conceptions of beauty,

You know, like at home if you go out somewhere like you try to dress up nicely and mostly if you, what my Dad says, he says that like some people who don't bother like to look nice at home. And my Dad always wants us to look nice at home as well. So

he says that, I don't want you to do it for people, I want you to do it for the family as well. So he wants us to dress up all the time (Suri - Suri & Sunni 11/1/07).

- Suri Well we've got some Bollywood actresses that are really pretty.
- Sunni Like who?
- Suri Like [*mentions names.*] Yeah there's like, if they are quite beautiful you just wish you were like really, you know, beautiful and all that. And then obviously you need to face the reality as well. You just can't like dream of all that cause you know it's not going to happen.
- (Suri & Sunni 11/1/07)

Suri also describes the cultural significance of her relationship with her father's family,

Like my family, we don't normally have fights, like my Dad's sister and brother, they live here in Scotland, and they all, we are all their kids and like my Dad thinks that we are just like one big family, we don't treat each other, you know like you are just my aunt or my uncle, they treat you like your own Mum and Dad. If they tell us off we need to listen to them, respect them just like our own parents (Suri - Suri & Sunni 1/2/07).

When asked what would happen if there was a disagreement about parenting Suri states,

- Suri Well there are sometimes things like that in my family, my Dad think it is wrong but my uncle thinks it is right, so my Dad and my uncle they discuss it with each other and then take that decision, what we should do.
- Margaret So the male family members have got responsibility to take decisions for you?
- Suri Even female, they all like discuss it together. If a female says yeah and a male says no, if the male sticks to no the female has to agree because she can't fight. Some people do, some people don't, so...

Suri highlights deference to adult and in particular male family members. During the course of the research I give young people a throw away camera and during a conversation about a photo she had taken of dolls in her bedroom, Sunni mentions having a close relationship with her Step-Mum,

- Sunni That, I told you that my Step-mum gave us these dolls like they are not play dolls, just like windowsill dolls.. And there is two of them so it just kind of like represents me and my sister...In a way.

- Margaret Is that how you always think of them?
- Sunni Uhuh.
- Margaret Are you still quite close to your Step mum then?
- Sunni Kind of. I have known her since when I was like two.
- (Sunni 25/1/07)

Sunni explains that she lives with "my Mum and Dad" and while her Step- Mum "doesn't live with us anymore" - "We still go round to see her sometimes ...like on a Saturday or a Sunday." Sunni's indication that she lived with her Mum and Step-Mum simultaneously also suggests a cultural difference in that her Father was able to have a simultaneous relationship with more than one woman. This may also happen in White secular or Christian culture but would be less culturally acceptable and therefore less obviously visible or acceptable to the parties involved. Mernissi (2003) contends that sexual inequality is intrinsic to both Western and Muslim cultures. She argues that in Islam there is no belief in female inferiority, as she suggests there is in Western culture, but rather the whole Islamic system is based on the assumption that women are powerful and dangerous. Sexual institutions such as polygamy, male guardianship and dress codes that involve shrouding or disguising the female form are strategies designed to contain this power (Mernissi 2003:19). Muslim societies, like Western societies, she argues, maintain male power by laws and customs that ensure women's status remains subjugated. Ramji's (2007) study highlights that Muslim young people would mobilise constructions of Islam which were perceived to enable cultural capital in the social field within which they were operating. For young men this could mean they used a construction of Islam as cultural capital which justified men's dominance over women. Young women however could actively resist this conception of Islam but also conceive their Muslim religion as "an important identity resource in a racialized and classed British society"(Ramji 2007: 1182). The habitus of Muslim girls is represented in a Scottish school context as more introverted; a less confidently visible presence than girls from a more secular background: "they keep themselves to themselves"; "nobody notices you" however both secular and Muslim constructions of feminine identity are shaped by a dominant cultural narrative which favours male supremacy.

Values and ideas about morality are culturally and temporally specific but can have the character of convention in that they can be taken for granted in actors' day-to-day social practice and represented as "common sense" in the interpretive and productive process of social interaction (Fairclough 2001). Sunni and Suri's descriptions of their Scottish Muslim cultural background disrupt the image of current social and moral codes and normative models of femininity or masculinity, sexuality and family life as represented by White young people. For example a high proportion of the White young people I speak to come from split families. Of the core twelve young people who participate in the study – Peter, Freddie, Paul, Darren, Sandra, Martha, Layla all have separated parents; Nina is being looked after by the Local Authority; Diane's secure home life has been disrupted by her father suddenly dying; and Fiona, Suri and Sunni still live with their respective Mums and Dads. For most of them the consistent parent is their mother although some have regular contact with their fathers. While each young person's experience of family life is different their easy acceptance of each other's complex parenting arrangements, reflect the fact that disrupted parenting is commonplace. It is an experience that many of the young people share and while an individual parent might on occasion be seen to be embarrassing being the child of separated parents or a single parent is not, in White contemporary culture, shaming in the least.

Margaret One thing you notice now with young people is like loads of young people don't live, like their parents don't live together.

Paul Mine don't.

Arun Neither do mine.

Joe Neither do mine. I still see my dad once a week...

Arun I haven't seen my dad in about seven years or something.

Paul I see my family every week.

(Paul and friends 28/2/07)

All the young people use the word "normal" to define their own identity. While Paul, Sandra, Fiona, Nina, Peter, Freddie don't subscribe to any particular distinguishable

group it is very important for each of them to have a group of friends. The young people who are more overt in adopting a dress code (i.e. "Goths") or perceived to be "popular" (i.e. "Plastics") or less socially successful (i.e. "Geeks") provided a template against which White young people measure themselves.

Yes, well we don't even think about falling into a group. We don't even call ourselves like normal or that. We just say we are nothing really. Cause we dinnae really want to be a Goth because usually if you are a Goth you can get the Neds annoying you or if you are a Ned you'll get chucked out of classes or stuff like that to really become one. But we like living in just a normal ... we dinnae argue with ... we dinnae annoy people. We just get on. There are kind of different types of people in our group as well. You've got quiet people and then you have got people who can talk a lot. (Peter: Jan 07)

Peter's description highlights the idea of "normal" as being the silent majority and indeed it is probably fair to say that the majority of pupils in the school fall into this category. The fact that all the young people describe themselves as "normal" highlights the impossibility of a homogeneous conception of "youth." In the minority both boys and girls from differing ethnic backgrounds may try to find different ways to blend in with the White Scottish majority.

During lunch a young Polish boy who had been beaten unconscious during a playground break at the school had called in to the Base. Pattie and Carrie rushed to see him. They noted he now had his hair cut in a trendy style, they thought in an effort to fit in. (Field notes 2/10/06)

That young people modified their style to fit in is as visible to other young people as it is to the teachers. During the period of the research there is publicity locally about a Sikh boy who had claimed he had been attacked, had his Patka or turban removed and his hair cut off. He later admits he had done it himself.

Sunni	Mina told me that as well but I watched the news and my brother told me. He went 'oh my god he faked it'.
Suri	So he faked it that people came up and took his thing off and cut his hair?
Margaret	Yeah yeah yeah.
Sunni	He done it himself and punched himself one as well.
Suri	I can't believe that.
.....	

Suri Was he a man or a boy?

Sunni Fifteen.

Margaret He was a boy. Yes about the same age as you.

Suri Like but you can, I mean it might have been one of the school problems as well that he might have got slagged, you know.

Margaret Yeah.

Suri Cause no-one knows the truth. I mean if he did it he would have done it for a reason.

Margaret Uhuh.

Suri But he might not want to tell anyone, you know.

Margaret Yeah yeah. I mean it sounds like...

Sunni It sounded so serious.

Suri If he wanted...

Sunni Aye cause like when I heard about it eh, it was at Windsor Park at [area]. You were like oh this is - it is a bit of a shock because you hear like murders happening and that in like England and that. But you don't hear something happening in [city], like something like that. It was quite big for us.

(Sunni and Suri 11/1/07)

Sunni's and Suri's comments indicate that they had initially been alarmed by the idea that this boy had been attacked and been violated in this way. Then when they realised he had done it himself they felt sorry for him and assumed he had good reason that he was being "slagged" or verbally attacked by other pupils. Essentially it seems they can empathise with his "outsider" status.

Like all the young people observed Suri and Sunni apparently modify their behaviour to accommodate the cultural codes they feel are appropriate for the particular setting in which they are located. Suri, presents a demeanour that is polite, respectful and responsible. She is clearly well versed, however, in the cultural codes that govern young people's body language in the company of peers and teachers. I see Suri in a class asked by a teacher to remove chewing gum from her mouth and she adopts the same surly expression and reluctant manner familiar to all the young people in the face of an unwelcome authority or potential public humiliation. I also go to find her

at the bottom of the staircase where she and her friends stand during breaks. She is laughing uproariously at a friend's joke but her demeanour changes dramatically when she sees me, changing back to her usual quietly respectful style.

7 Solidarity and difference

Suri explains why most Asian girls and White girls socialise separately in the playground.

Because they have the same background so they can talk about similar stuff. Because we are different and they are different (Suri 11/1/07)

It might be easy to view the fact that girls of Asian descent opt to stand together during school breaks as evidence of homogeneity, highlighted in Suri's explanation "We are different and they are different", rather than apparent solidarity in response to a predominantly white school. However, Suri and Sunni are very clear that their primary affiliation is with other Muslim girls rather than for example Hindi, Christian, or Sikh girls of Asian descent. In addition Suri's religious adherence to head covering, daily Mosque attendance and prayer, and Sunni's bareheaded, Mosque attendance limited to Eid celebrations indicating a more relaxed approach, highlights the fact that people practice their Muslim faith in different ways.

For example Sunni and Suri highlight culturally different moral codes,

Suri Its cause like obviously like Christians, like they drink on Friday and Saturday night, like obviously we are not allowed to drink so obviously if we become... like we do have friends but if we start going out with them obviously we won't be able to go to pubs and all that.

MP Right.

Suri You know what I mean, 'cause obviously we are not allowed to drink.

MP Uhuh.

Suri So obviously if you become friends with Muslims or something, you will just have the same thing so you might as well go to like cinema or shopping or go to each other's houses. (Suri - Sunni and Suri 7/11/06)

Suri's repeated use of the term "obviously", suggests both that the dominant ideology of abstinence in Muslim practice, and that perceived Christian liberalism towards alcohol consumption should be taken for granted, - "obviously.. Christians.. drink, obviously we are not allowed to drink." Suri also points out however

I don't think its true for everyone, because I have seen lots of different Muslims like hanging about with Christians all the time, so it's not the same for everyone. (Suri - Sunni and Suri 7/11/06)

Sunni adds

It depends what type of Muslim that type of person is - if that Muslim person is really religious or not, because if he is not that religious he might just drink or not... Yeah because some Muslims do drink as well, but even if we are not allowed they still do it. (Sunni - Sunni and Suri 7/11/06)

While social perceptions can reinforce dominant ideology, as Sunni and Suri point out here, moral codes can be resisted.

8 Conclusion

A recurring debate in the citizenship literature is the issue of location, identity and belonging particularly in relation to culture, nation and the effects of globalisation (Osler 2000, Lawy and Biesta 2006, Haste 2006). There is a new emphasis in the UK context on community cohesion reflecting political concern to combat the rise of extremism in local, national and international communities (Keating et al 2009). Young people's construction of ethnic identities in the context of Scottish schooling tends to resonate with Gilroy's (1987) argument in relation to Englishness "There Aint' no Black in the Union Jack" that Scottish identity is implicitly conceived as White. Although young people highlight an understanding that racism is "wrong", their constructions of culturally valued Scottish identities highlight the lack of capital afforded culturally diverse Scottish identities.

White Scottish ethnicity is largely taken for granted by White Scottish pupils but when they do describe a Scottish identity, they indicate a complex mixture of pride and awareness of a negatively conceived conception of the Scottish identity outside

of Scotland. A Scottish identity in the form of accent and "a sense of the game" in relation to Scottish cultural reference points could be a cultural resource in a Scottish school that could confer social value enhancing self worth. However Suri and Sunni's descriptions highlight that while they might conceive of themselves as Scottish and as "normal" "- we are just, like, normal people" (Suri - Sunni and Suri, 7/11/06), their representation of Scottish identity does not confer the same social value. Their descriptions imply that their cultural differences are tolerated rather than valued. The concept of a "normal" identity is constructed by Suri in a manner that appears to be about defending a sense of equal worth with contemporaries in a context where she might have felt that worth is diminished.

Young people's utilisation of the word "normal" emphasises a common need to feel a sense of belonging to a group, to be socially valued by avoiding social disapproval which for some young people means not standing out. Suri and Sunni of course cannot avoid standing out. Sunni and Suri's strategies to establish self worth therefore draw on collective cultural resources associated with their religious faith.

Habitus is conceived of by Bourdieu as not only about mental attitudes and perceptions but also the socially embodied, so that unequal social practices governing ethnicity might be reflected in styles of dress, ways of talking and interacting which might become perceived as "naturally" reflective of, for example, Scottish ethnicity. Scottish ethnicity is being understood as not encompassing Muslim identities. Suri's headscarf communicates not only her religion but also her gender and ethnicity. In relation to attributes that White girls might consider socially desirable such as styles of dress, capacity to have a boyfriend or go out drinking and socialising at weekends a Muslim girl who practises her religion holds little social or cultural capital and therefore appeal in those terms. The social networks that Suri can mobilise and her style of dress and patterns of speech and behaviour offer her a valued social position within the Muslim community and perhaps amongst Asian Scottish pupils but afford her limited status in relation to some White Scottish girls.

Suri and Sunni also make clear, however, that the Muslim Scottish community is no more homogeneous than the White Scottish community. Like Sunni and Suri, Paul's descriptions highlight that Scottish identities are heterogeneous and complex and can be conceptualised in relation to rejected identities e.g. "not being English."

Both White and Black young people's descriptions of Scottish and Asian and/or Muslim identities construct a "we" and a "they", an "us" and "them". However they also highlight this form of identification with groups of peers as not a fixed distinction but an ongoing process of allegiance or establishing similarity in relation to some characteristics i.e. being "friends", being part of "one community"; and of separation or marking difference i.e. "we are different they are different" , "they keep themselves to themselves" (Hall 1996). The reference to terrorism also places the construction of Muslim identities by both Muslim and non Muslim young people in a cultural context in which wars are being waged by Scottish or British troops against Muslim peoples in Iraq and Afghanistan. The representation of a young woman's identity as based on a religious faith (Muslim) rather than a nationality (e.g. Scottish Asian) may be indicative of a political and cultural field in which there is a felt necessity to defend the Muslim religion against an automatic association with Islamic fundamentalism and terrorist acts (Mernissi 2003). The capacity of at least one non-Muslim boy, Paul, with a Muslim friend, Arun, to make the distinction between "terrorist Muslims" and Muslims generally, highlights the significance of cross cultural friendships in shaping constructions of the "ethnic other". The next chapter considers the impact of the social field of the school in promoting a conception of culturally valued identities.

In summary this chapter highlights that young people do not construct the identities of young Asian citizens born in Scotland as Scottish. Racism is understood to be a moral wrong but young people of different ethnic origin are still mainly constructed as "other," except, to a certain extent, where cross cultural friendships have been established. Ethnicity and religious belief are illuminated as implicated in constructions of gender and conceptions of culturally valued identities.

Chapter Seven: Schooling for Citizenship - Power, Control and Resistance in the Social Field of the School

1 Introduction

In line with Scottish educational policy young people in this study are being understood as citizens now rather than citizens in waiting (Learning and Teaching Scotland 2002). The production of young people's citizenship identities are being highlighted as embedded in everyday process and practices (Reay 1997, Gordon et al 2000). This study focuses primarily on the cultural processes in schooling rather than the formal curricular and pedagogical processes. The last three chapters explored young peoples' constructions of classed, gendered and ethnic citizen identities highlighting embedded social inequalities. In this chapter I turn my attention specifically to the production of citizenship identities in the social field of the school. Bourdieu defines a social field as follows:

a structured social space, a field of forces, a force field. It contains people who dominate and people who are dominated. Constant, permanent relationships of inequality operate inside this space, which at the same time becomes a space in which various actors struggle for the transformation or preservation of the field. All the individuals in this universe bring to the competition all the (relative) power at their disposal. It is the power that defines their position in the field and as a result their strategies (Bourdieu 1998: 40 - 41 quoted in Thompson 2008: 74).

Schooling represents a site of struggle in which different agents (teachers or pupils) will occupy different relative positions in social spaces in a school dependent on "the distribution of the powers which are active in each of them" (Bourdieu (1984) 2002: 230). By powers Bourdieu means capitals such as economic, cultural or social capital and importantly symbolic capital such as prestige or status enabled when other forms of capital are recognised as legitimate. So for example as we have seen in previous chapters the habitus of working class young people defined as "Ned" or sometimes "Chav" is understood to have limited symbolic capital in for example the "professional" employment market beyond school. However a loud and challenging habitus associated by research participants with working class young people defined as "Ned" or "Chav" can be conceived to have symbolic capital i.e. to have a powerful

status amongst their peer group in the context of their challenge to the relative power or volume of capitals teachers have in school space in contrast to pupils. Bourdieu's argument suggests that teachers and pupils will be positioned in spaces in a school dependent on the volume of capital and relative weight of the different kinds of capital they possess. This chapter specifically explores the complex relations of power, control, and resistance embedded in all the social spaces of the school. Constructions of citizenship identity are highlighted as responsive to the relative position of agents in social space.

2 Governing Time and Space

Rosefield Academy is a secondary school with approximately 1500 pupils. The school is located in a middle class area but is within easy walking distance of four council estates. As a consequence of the quasi market in education parents have the right to decide which school their child attends, within the limits of their own resources, residency and school rolls. Rosefield Academy and a nearby Catholic Secondary school appear to be more popular choices than a secondary located in a local council estate with a negative reputation whose school roll number has diminished to approximately 300.

In 2003 the then Scottish Executive Education Department (SEED) introduced a website which offers a range of information on school performance which aimed to avoid schools being compared by the single indicator of exam results. However, despite acknowledging the factors that make straight comparisons between schools unfair, the media still encourages parents to assess schools and conceive education's value on the basis of schools' ability to achieve exam targets (Denholm 2007). The independent or private schools sector has a significant presence in the city in which Rosefield Academy is located. In 2005 6,062 of the 17,597 pupils attending independent or private secondary schools throughout Scotland, were schooled in the nine independent secondary schools in the city where this study is located, the highest number of any city in Scotland(The Scottish Government 2007). While a

proportion of these pupils will be incoming residential pupils, private education is a key competitor with state education for mainly middle class pupils in the city.

There'll be something like 12-15% of kids creamed off into public schools from this area, upset about that... kind of hostile towards that (Teacher 3- 8/5/07).

Irrespective of whether the figure this teacher gives is accurate the staff expectation that pupils will be diverted to private schools in the area is made apparent. Like other schools, then, there is pressure on Rosefield Academy to maintain a positive reputation and their associated pupil population by ensuring their pupils achieve good exam results.

Obviously the bread and butter of the service we provide is good academic qualifications. I always have that as the backdrop to whatever is going on in the school (Head teacher 8/5/07).

..you know in August I'll be put in, brought in with all the other heads of department, I'll be brought in to [the head teacher]'s office and I'll have to discuss the exam results. She, you know, she is no different from all the others. They are all under pressure to make sure we have to answer for our exam results. She'll ask us about our standard grade results, she'll ask us about our higher grade results. She'll say "Why are your standard grade results not very good or why are your higher results not" (Teacher 5 - 1/5/07).

The teacher says "There is too much messing around – if you want to get a 1 [top mark] it is up to you not me. I have been working hard this session but you have been messing around" (Field notes Chemistry class 10/1/07).

The teacher comes over to talk to me. She asks again what I am doing. I tell her [...] She tells me that the exam timescale means that they have to get through work and they don't always have time for fun stuff like the French breakfast (Field notes French class 25/1/07).

This suggestion of pressure on schools to achieve exam results is supported by Applied Educational Research Scheme case studies which found a focus on raising overall attainment levels a key driver of management decisions in schools (Croxford 2009). The school's location encompassing a wide ranging middle and working class population in a number of distinct but easily accessible areas means it embraces a truly comprehensive pupil population. This is commented on by a number of the staff as a positive.

..the good thing about [Rosefield] is that it is a true comprehensive. You have a real social and academic mix. I think that is great. It teaches lessons for the whole of the

community and there is a real richness that comes from people from different social classes, different people ... different ethnic minorities as well. And eh, it just adds a real interesting backdrop for the school (Head teacher 8/5/07).

There is probably a better social mix than most other schools as well and that's a good thing (Teacher 3- 8/5/07).

It's probably the most comprehensive school in the city. I taught at [secondary school], I taught at [secondary school], taught at [secondary school], middle city, big ethnic group, taught at [secondary school] and I think this is probably the happiest school of the lot (Teacher 8 - 3/5/07)

I think it is great. I love it. I think the range of pupils....it is the one reason I really like it and stayed because you have this mix. The middle class ones and the ones who are definitely not.....I think most teachers here will say the same (Teacher 2 - 8/5/07)

All of the 8 teachers interviewed see Rosefield as a happy school and a good place to work. However the size of the population and the layout of the school mean that staff and pupils do not always know each other.

If you are on the 7th floor and you don't get down the stairs for a break, because you would get down and have about four minutes to sit down, throw a cup of coffee down your throat, to get back up before your classes arrived. That is not so good so the school have to do things to get the staff together....I was very lucky because I had the role of Deputy Head Teacher, acting DHT a year ago and a lot of people didn't know who I was before I did that because I am up here (Teacher 8 - 3/5/07)

Teachers within departments can form strong bonds because they work so closely together but some teachers acknowledge the size can make things more challenging for pupils.

I think in terms of this school as well because you have so many pupils, a lot of them don't know each other. I find that fascinating because when I was at school, we knew everyone in our year and even if you didn't speak to them you knew exactly who they were, you knew where they came from, what their family's like, what their background, who they're friends with, what primary school they went to, you knew everything about them so they weren't unknown quantities to you,..... Whilst now this school's like a village in itself so you can't really expect us to know everyone and that's quite scary. As a teacher, I like it because you get so many different kids, you get a full spectrum, but as a pupil I think that they could be in a classroom with people they don't like or people they don't know anything about and if they're afraid of school or if they're afraid of getting bullied then it could be terrifying (Teacher 6 - 1/5/07).

This teacher - a probationer - contrasts her own school experiences with Rosefield. She highlights that the size of the school and the consequent variety of young people

they come into contact with can be conceived as a positive by teachers, whereas the size she feels might not necessarily be experienced positively by pupils, "it could be terrifying."

Although well maintained, Rosefield Academy, in relation to housing such a large number of pupils is barely fit for purpose. The school building is old and there are plans to build a new school, the site of which is a matter of contentious debate. In the meantime haphazard extensions have taken place to house the expansive pupil population. A significant aspect of what goes on in this school is about managing large numbers of pupils in a space that was not originally designed to accommodate such large numbers and in anticipation of a new purpose built school for which there is, at the time of writing, no concrete agreement or timescale. There is a nine floor tower block with a ground, first and second floor extending into other buildings. There is a gym block, a music department, guidance, special education, drama, craft and technical departments all in buildings either close to or connected to the main school. Each distinct department has made an effort to claim their space by decorating corridor walls and classrooms with pupil artwork, posters and projects relevant to the subject area. Gordon et al (2000) make the point that school buildings "embody pedagogical Principles and assumptions about ways in which teaching and learning is organised, and about the relationship of the school to its surroundings." For example where curriculum subjects are located in the school, the size of the department, the quality of space and resources they are allocated and how they are timetabled offers an implicit indication of the status of the subject both within the school structure and the national education framework.

In addition to being a "temporal passage from child to adult status" (James A. Jenks C. & Prout A. 1998) school regulates a child's time so that they must spend significant parts of their day in school and restricts how they use space and time within the boundaries of school. Temporal and spatial instructions governing the behaviour of pupils are apparent from the moment of entry into a school building as Rosefield Academy demonstrates. School space is separated from public space by

walls, fencing, a concrete playground and by the notices which command that "all visitors must report to reception."

The bells ringing to signal the end of a class or break, the notices which make clear which entrances or corridors that pupils can use or spaces they can or can't occupy and the queue of late pupils either accounting for or simply registering their lateness at reception, make the systems in place to direct the behaviour of large numbers of young people immediately evident. Hierarchy and power differentials are embedded into the social organisation of space in the school. Pupils must get toilet passes, late passes and lift passes. Status differentials are evident in the spaces allocated to or systems governing adults as opposed to pupils and the spaces allocated to different subject departments and teaching staff.

Teachers and pupils in the main accept and comply with the social organisation of the school. Rosefield Academy conforms to a pattern of organisation reflected in schools across the country and that has been around for generations. Indeed practices in this school mirror my own secondary school experiences almost thirty years ago and in this sense can be conceived to be evidence of culturally embedded relations of power between state and teacher, teacher and pupil, a social field so "taken for granted" it cannot be conceived of operating in any other way (Maitles 2005) .

Bells ring to mark the start of the school day when young people must attend registration, then at the end of every class period lasting 50 minutes to an hour and to mark the start and end of breaks. When bells ring large numbers of pupils spill out into corridors, stairwells and playground, from enclosed classrooms talking, laughing, occasionally shouting or shoving, generally moving slowly sometimes because of traffic jams caused by sheer numbers, sometimes apparently to extend the period before they are closeted in the next class. Groups of pupils can be seen hanging about corridors on occasion waiting for teachers to arrive to let them into locked classrooms or because they are waiting for a late running class to finish. Walking along corridors teachers can be seen and heard through windows in

classroom doors, standing at the front of classes imparting information, delivering instructions or posing questions to the pupils. Sometimes there is a confusion of voices when pupils are engaged in an activity that involves discussion or because the teacher is no longer in the room.

Although there is general compliance individual pupil resistance is evident in lateness, unauthorised use of lifts, truancy and various forms of challenging behaviour. Teacher resistance is evident in the range of interpretations of how they fulfil their role, which might be related to opting to ignore pupils flouting certain rules or creatively responding to the demand for reports accounting for their practice as one teacher put it "creating a short story - a complete fiction." This latter point is made not because this teacher thinks their department has anything to hide, in fact they are proud of their practice but rather because "I see myself as a teacher first and as an administrator second." This teacher (5) suggests an attitude of resentment in the lack of trust in their skill and integrity as a teacher implicit in ongoing demands that they account for their practice or respond to the latest government initiatives. The following teacher (1) is, however, more pragmatic about the lack of democracy.

..realistically schools are not democracies, there are no democracies for the staff either, and yet we all sit in the staff meetings where they have staff input. And I do think in a lot of ways that it would be fairer just to say it's a dictatorship because it has to be because at the end of the day do we ever get a say on should we adopt these teaching and learning policies, no. You sit at meetings where we discuss parts of it and we put in our input, but we don't vote on many things. You know you get a vote like do you want to have scones or pea soup, you know on the days when there's a prize giving or a parents evening, but a lot of teaching for the teachers is - well that's what you are doing get on with it; and all of the assessment and the ways that education has changed have actually tightened the nut on teachers a lot more than when I first came into teaching - I had much more leeway as an English teacher, what to teach, when to teach and how to teach it than I think teachers have now... I think lots of places play the game, we sit as a group of staff and pretend we really have an input. And I think people are sometimes very disappointed because they do think that they are working in a democracy and then when things don't go their way they get quite disillusioned about it. But the head has to do what the authority says, people in the authority are doing whatever Scottish [Executive] are telling them to do, so I think if you are realistic about it you are less likely to be disappointed (Teacher 1 - 3/5/07).

This teacher is quite clear where the power lies and it is not with teachers. She frames the choices they are able to make as non-decisions which don't really give

them a choice about whether or not they pursue specific educational policies. It is evident that although teachers are in a more powerful position overall than pupils, teachers are also subject to constraints on their behaviour and the ongoing experience of having their practice assessed.

3 Exercising authority

A school's organisational systems are designed in part to give teachers a measure of authority or power over pupils. It is easy to witness, however, that this does not mean that all teachers are necessarily universally powerful in relation to pupils. Lukes (2005:70) argues that power is a capacity rather than the exercise of that capacity. He contends that having the means of power is not the same as being powerful.

Power is not necessarily about domination but can be used to act in another's interests. Actors in power relations have multiple, differential and conflicting interests. Reflecting Bourdieu's concept of habitus as encouraging actors to consider dominant ideology as natural or inevitable, Lukes (2005:13) argues the existence of power as internal constraints what he calls the "third dimension" of power. Lukes offers this third dimension of power as both a contrast and development of what he calls one dimensional and two dimensional views of power. One dimensional power is a perception of power in which different people "win" power struggles in different contexts which Lukes (2005:19&39) criticises for a lack of acknowledgment of the less visible ways a system can operate more in the interests of one group than another.

Pupils in Rosefield Academy understand that sanctions will be imposed on them (such as, ultimately, exclusion) if they don't conform to school rules. Pupils also suggest that the young people most likely "to get into trouble" would be those they called "Neds" or "Chavs" and more often boys than girls. So while "Neds" or "Chavs" could be perceived as the pupils most likely to be subject to sanctions they are also perceived as the pupils who exert most power over other pupils and over

weaker teachers. In this sense "Neds" or "Chavs" could be seen to "win" power struggles in certain contexts however they could also be perceived to be the pupils who are less likely to succeed in academic terms. Research suggests that social background is still a key determinant in relation to educational outcomes (Raffe et al 2006, Ianelli 2007). In both Bourdieu's and Lukes (2005) terms then the system may not be operating in the interests of working class young people defined as "Neds" or "Chavs". While there might be a sense that individual teachers might operate in a way that is unfair, pupils tend not to perceive groups of pupils (including themselves) as being disadvantaged in any particular way supporting both Bourdieu's and Lukes' contention that discrimination may not be visible.

Everybody has an equal amount of chance to become, do the best they can, and get the best grades... its just they can't do it , its just if they choose to do it or not. (Darren 9/11/06)

Two dimensional power recognises bias highlighting decisions where people can choose to act in a variety of ways and non-decisions where power is exercised to limit decision making to "safe" issues which don't seriously challenge the values or interests of those in power (Lukes 2005:22). The pupil councils (four encompassing each school house plus an executive council) in the school are acknowledged by teachers to have limited power in relation to decision making,

The big area for us was developing the pupil voice, that wasn't brilliantly done, we are working on that. (Teacher4, 1/5/07)

Most of the pupils I spoke to see them as having little relevance to them unless they had participated on one.

Martha makes a link between the fact she studied hard and the fact she was bullied. At the end of second year she went onto the pupil council. She thinks she was picked for this role because she was perceived to be something of a geek and this was something that geeks did. (Field notes - unrecorded meeting 6/12/06)

The perception that it is "geeks" also perceived as "teacher's pets," that participate on pupil councils highlighted this sense that pupil councils do not represent any serious challenge to the status quo or the power of the teachers. Pupil Councils could then

represent an example of non decisions where decision making power is limited to safe issues which do not make any major impact on school structures.

Lukes (2005:38) criticises both one and two dimensional descriptions of power for their focus on observable conflict arguing that the most insidious form of power is that which avoids conflict in the first place by shaping, influencing and even determining wants and desires. In Bourdieu's (1989) terms young people are inculcated with dominant ideology which becomes a "taken for granted" conception of social reality.

Young people's wants and desires then may be the product of a system that does not always operate in their interests but can be focussed on securing their compliance, accepting their role as part of the natural order of things and as having no alternative. So when Darren says in the earlier quote in relation to academic success, "it's just if they choose to do it or not" he appears to accept that success or failure at school is determined by the individual behaviour of pupils. Darren is not one of the pupils for whom educational success comes easily. His family's relative poverty means that he is unlikely to have had access to a wide range of resources for learning as he grew up. His literacy skills at the age of 15 are poor. He is attending Rosefield Academy, after leaving another local secondary school where he spent three years and then spending six months in London. It is not in Darren's interests to believe that academic success or failure is entirely a consequence of individual choice. This appears to be his perception, however. Darren says he wants to go into the army or to be a security guard. In Lukes or Bourdieu's terms then Darren's acceptance of responsibility for a lack of academic success and his employment preferences could have been the product of a system that is not operating in his interest but has subtly secured his tacit agreement with his classified role in society.

Similarly when Layla subscribes to the view that popularity "depends on your image for girls and it's football for boys" and works hard at making sure her "hair is looking good and her make-up is looking good" and that she is "up with the fashions", she

conforms to a model of femininity promoted in popular culture that posits a specific type of physical appearance as the primary indicator of social worth for girls and women. In Layla's case there is some appeal in accepting this model of femininity as she can "succeed" in these terms. However the appeal may be primarily because finding other ways of constructing self worth, such as achieving academically, do not appear as easily accessible, as her regular exclusion from school would seem to suggest.

Critical theorists contend that education can both be about liberation and control, in other words conscripting young people to the logic of the current system and/or enabling them to think critically and act autonomously (Freire 1972; Giroux 2001). Citizenship education encompasses similarly contradictory and contested aims. On the one hand the promotion of active citizenship is represented as about encouraging participative democracy enabling children and young people to have a role in decision making about the issues that concern them.

Young people should see that all people in the school are treated with respect and their views are sought and taken account of in relevant matters. The way an establishment is organised and managed, the manner, attitudes and quality of the relationships evident among its members and the ways in which it interacts with pupils, parents and the wider community can all provide important tangible indications of what inclusive, participative communities are like in practice (Education for Citizenship in Scotland Discussion Paper, Learning and Teaching Scotland 2002:17).

On the other hand education for citizenship is also suggested as one of the strategies for combating anti-social behaviour amongst young people and instilling a sense of social responsibility (Osler and Starkey 2005). Citizenship education is conceived as both about empowering and exercising power over young people.

Jonathan Hearn (2008) suggests that Lukes' (2005) discussion on power focuses on the dominated and constraints harming individual natures, rather than "the kinds of relations of domination" (p47). He argues that it is unhelpful to assume that domination is "a form of harm or wrong doing" as individuals are necessarily constrained by the organisation of our social world

Human society arises precisely out of the tensions between individual wills and impulses and the collective need for viable social organisation (p46)

It is arguable that education for citizenship's focus on pupils being enabled to become responsible citizens whose attributes are "respect for others and a commitment to participate responsibly in political, economic, social and cultural life"(Curriculum for Excellence: Curriculum Review Group, Scottish Executive 2004:12) reflects this need for viable social organisation. Young people should be enabled to develop the capacity to become responsible citizens, to recognise mutual interdependence with others. However even where individuals can be credited with gaining specific characteristics of attitude and behaviour these will rarely be immutable (Baker and Newnes 2005). Power relations inevitably have an impact both on how a young person might behave in a particular place and time in relation to others, and on how that action is perceived. I regularly witnessed and pupils spoke about behaving and being perceived quite differently in different contexts in the school and outside of school.

Darren, for example, explains why he feels more in control of the things he does outside of school,

Yeah, cause at school its set by rules and if you break a rule you get thrown out basically, but wi' like my skateboarding and BMXing they have no rules applies except you're not allowed to hit somebody on purpose, but other than that there's no you can do whatever you want with BMXing and skateboard, you can do any tricks... like at school you are set down by a set of fine lines like you have to wear certain clothes, certain shoes, you have to make sure you have a bag and pencil, but in skateboarding a good set of shoes and your skateboard, that's all you need. With BMXing its just the same. (Darren 9/11/06)

3.1 Power and Space in the Classroom

Most of the classrooms are enclosed spaces with doors that can be closed when the class is in progress. The teacher's desk is generally at the front of the class and behind this desk is a blackboard or a white board. Classroom spaces are organised in very different ways and signal information about the nature of the subject or the approach of the teacher. The Art department for example does not in the main have enclosed classrooms but is open plan with teaching spaces divided from each other

by cabinets. Desks are grouped or in a square formation in the middle of which there might be a piece of artwork. These are clearly spaces that pupils can move around to access materials and so on for their work. Drama lessons take place in a large room with a stage area at one end and no desks.

I make initial contact with the young people who take part in my study via the Alternative Education Department. Young people attend this Department when they are at risk of marginalisation from the mainstream curriculum. This may be because they are at risk of exclusion because of poor behaviour, as a consequence of medical, emotional or personal problems or because they are new to the school. This department known in the school as the Base is well resourced suggesting it was valued by the school.

We do spend a lot of money with Support for Pupils staff and with staffing the Alternative Education Base because we think it is worth it in terms of the skills we can offer the young people to survive education. And that would be the worry. Some people don't survive education and how is that for a lesson in citizenship (Head teacher 8/5/07)

That it is viewed positively by pupils is evidenced by their willingness to attend even on occasion when there is no real reason for them to be there and in particular by their enthusiasm for meeting me there. The Alternative Education Department consists of four largish rooms known within this department as the Base, the kitchen, the gym and the office which opens onto a hall decorated with graffiti style art and displaying information leaflets and posters on a range of services for young people, alerting the visitor to the fact that you are entering a space targeting the interests of pupils. All rooms and spaces in the Base are accessible to pupils and are used for and by pupils. Teachers are relaxed and friendly in this context but clearly control the use of all spaces. The hall of the Department has glass double doors leading onto a ramp to the playground. Diagonally opposite these doors is a short passage leading to another door and a set of stairs into the main school. At the top of these stairs are the medical room and the two deputy head teachers' room. Pupils can often be seen forlornly sitting on a couple of chairs against the wall at the top of the stairs waiting to see one of the Deputy Heads. The waiting pupil would have committed a

misdemeanour and had been sent by a teacher to be dealt with by the more senior authority of a Deputy Head.

English, Mathematics, Languages, History, Geography, Modern Studies all took place in more traditional classrooms. Some teachers rarely use their desk and move about the classroom, some classes are organised into groups of desks or in a horse shoe shape but in general pupils are organised to have an uninterrupted view of the teacher and vice versa. Desks in general face the front of the class which is adjacent to the door of entry - anyone coming in or leaving will be seen by the whole class. McGregor (2004) has pointed out that when schools were organised into classrooms teachers were given relative freedom from surveillance by colleagues but pupils became subject to the gaze of both peers and teacher. Power can be located in specific parts of the room such as the front of the class, or the teacher's desk.

I go to an English class before the bell and ask the teacher whom I have previously met if it is OK if I sit in. He says I might want to only stay for a time as he is going to go over an old paper. The teacher mentions Her Majesty's Inspectors coming into the school and that it will probably be the English department first and then the rest of the school. I tell him that staff in the Base joke that I am an advanced guard for the HMI. I sit in a seat at the back of the class. Sunni and Suri arrive in the class and we exchange smiles. Eva appears and tells me I am sitting in her seat. I have previously met her in the Base. I say "I will move" and she says "No stay where you are". She says "It doesn't matter I don't do anything in this class anyway". Sandra comes in and looks startled to see me sitting next to Eva. I am apparently sitting in her usual seat. I smile briefly at Sandra but don't speak to her. She takes a seat in front of Eva and I. Several boys stroll into the class. The teacher comes up and says (to Eva) "Yes she is sitting in your seat". He says (to me) "Eva doesn't do anything – she is good at putting on her make-up and that is all". There seems to be a long-standing war of attrition between the teacher and Eva (Field notes 8/11/06)

When I introduce myself to teachers to ask if I could sit in on their classes older teachers tend to be much more immediately suspicious than younger teachers. All agree to my presence once I explain what I am doing but younger teachers tend to be more relaxed about the idea. This may be because as relatively new teachers the latter have more recent experience of being observed as a potentially useful function of being inducted into their job whereas longer serving teachers may only have associated observation with potentially negative or "interfering" surveillance of their practice.

Line management is a thing which has been brought into education in the years since I've joined this staff here. And I have to be honest with you I have yet to see any benefit from that (Teacher 5 - 1/5/07)

As the teacher in the aforementioned class points out representatives from Her Majesty's Inspectorate (HMI) are coming to the school shortly before I sit in on the class. This fact is clearly a source of some anxiety that is palpable in the whole school. The teacher in this class mentions to me that the "HMIs" would probably start their inspection with the English Department. Marshall and Ball (1999) highlight a 1997 study that suggests teachers felt that their work had become increasingly about accounting for what they do rather than being trusted to get on with it. Ball (2003) argues that recent educational reforms are embedded in "three interrelated *policy technologies* the market, managerialism and performativity" (2003:215). That is the quasi market in education driven by parental choice and school autonomy and global free market capitalism driven by the consumption of goods and services, and the freedom of capital to cross national boundaries. Managerialism is the process by which teaching practice is governed or monitored and performativity, the culture or mode of regulating the performance of teachers (Ball 2003:216). When he refers to policy technologies Ball is describing a range of techniques deployed to examine, test, judge, assess and improve the productivity of teachers. This links to an increasing emphasis on test scores or exam targets as the easily measurable indicator of a pupil's and therefore a teacher's success and a focus in this lesson on revising for prelim exams in a class where because it is a Foundation class it is not possible for the pupils to score highly. Ball (2003:217) argues that these processes impact on the subjectivity of teachers, "who teachers are in relations with students and colleagues."

The elephant in the room the day I attend this class is the ensuing surveillance of this teacher and the rest of the teachers in the school by the Inspectorate. The anxiety experienced by teachers reflects the anxiety expressed by pupils during their examination period.

Patty later shows me a card she sent to Carrie when she was off sick. Carrie was worried about not being well for the HMI coming in – the card had a picture of a woman's face under the caption "Fortunately I don't give a shit". Len had written in the inside – "See you in the job centre in a couple of weeks" and Patty had written "Fortunately I won't be giving either of you a reference!" (Field notes 27/11/06)

These teachers like many of the pupils, use humour to counteract the anxiety provoking experience of being judged by an external power who could confer value on their practice as a teacher (or not) and consequently impact on their teaching practice and self worth.

As this lesson progresses I realise I have sat next to a particularly significant presence in the room for both the teacher and other pupils. The teacher makes regular reference to Eva and seems put out that I am sitting next to her. He asks me questions about how she is getting on to which I respond by turning to ask Eva. I have located myself in a space next to a person that embodies trouble for him – with whom he engages in a struggle for power and control of the classroom. I find therefore that I have become part of that struggle. By sitting next to her, behind a desk at the back of the class I feel aligned with her rather than the teacher. The teacher reasserts control in the end by asking me to leave the class.

Eventually the teacher asks me to leave the classroom. He tells me he wants to shout at the pupils but can't do it while I am there. He tells a rushed story featuring pupils and a head teacher that I don't really follow because I am thrown and still sitting looking at him. He says "No really, I would like you to leave". I give Eva's arm a squeeze say quietly "see you later" and leave. I smile as I go. I feel embarrassed that he has drawn attention to me in this way and I feel as if I have done something wrong. (Field notes 8/11/06)

As I leave this class I can hear the teacher telling Eva to stand up. At the point I am requested to get up and walk out of the class it feels a little like getting onto a stage because everyone then can look easily in my direction. I find I do not turn and look back at the class but move quickly to the door smiling and feeling like I have been sent out for bad behaviour. My smile is perhaps incongruous but relates to my sense of the ridiculousness of the situation (being chucked out of class at my age!!) and also probably to indicate that I don't mind and to cover a sense of embarrassment.

Pupils may also want to mask embarrassment or potential humiliation by behaving in ways (i.e. smiling) that might embody disrespect or insolence in the context of unequal power relations with adults.

Power then can be located at the front of the room with the teacher but it can also be a disempowering space where a pupil can be exposed and humiliated. Similarly it could be perceived to be powerful to be standing as a teacher when the class are all sitting but to be asked to stand up as a pupil in a sitting class could also be disempowering and humiliating. Power for pupils might be in hidden spaces, in corners, under desks, behind folders out of sight of the teacher or in overt or hidden displays of resistance to teacher authority that some pupils perform for their peers. In Eva's case I witness her struggle with the English material she is given. She quickly gives up. As she is already an authoritative presence with her peers (her power is legitimated by her peers subservience to her), her resistance is not about performance but apparent disaffection with a subject at which she is not able to achieve and a teacher with whom she does not have a good relationship.

From the teacher's point of view, he has a responsibility to make sure the class engages in learning and he makes clear very honestly that I am inhibiting him in this process. The class is a space that he controls, I am present only with his consent and he has a legitimate power or authority to eject me from the class. Hearn (2008) specifies that the word *Herrschaft* was used by Weber to refer to relationships where a dominant party can routinely be assured that their commands will be obeyed. Weber contended that a feature of most relationships of domination was a tacit agreement by the dominated that this domination was justifiable on some grounds. Hearn (2008) points out that the linking of domination with legitimacy has led some to a preference for the translation "authority" for *Herrschaft*. Hearn (2008:47/48) suggests four different kinds of relations of domination, strategic control, advantageous position, malign influence and negligence. "Strategic control" is described as the deliberate effort to make the dominated act in ways that serve the dominant's interests irrespective of whether either party argue that it is also serving

the dominated interests. Organising English classes into ability groups which some teachers refer to as "streaming" and which pupils understand as hierarchies of potential achievement, could be perceived to be acting in the dominant's interests; serving the interests of the already high achieving pupils. The sense of hopelessness in relation to educational achievement in some of the lower "ability set" classes is palpable.

"Advantageous position" Hearn identifies as resources and advantages such as inherited wealth and status that may not derive from the will to dominate but enables a more powerful position nevertheless. In Bourdieu's terms this could refer to young people with embodied and objectified cultural capital which might give them more opportunity to acquire institutionalised cultural capital in the form of academic qualifications. Eva has in a limited respect an advantageous position in relation to her peers in that she can pull on cultural resources that in the context of the school enable her to project both confidence in relation to her peers and a disposition untroubled by the demands of teachers.

"Malign influence" highlights the way agents and institutions have negative but unintended effects on individuals and society in a regular ongoing fashion. The majority of teachers I speak to in this school express a commitment and convey an active interest in giving pupils in the school a positive experience of education. However, Ianelli (2007) has highlighted social background as an ongoing determinant in relation to educational achievement. Bourdieu (1986) describes cultural capital as existing in three forms embodied, objectified and institutionalised. Institutionalised cultural capital can exist in the form of educational qualifications. Pupils clearly understand that qualifications give them cultural capital but some perceive academic qualifications to be beyond their reach. One of the teachers felt this impacted profoundly on pupils' experience of school,

I think the most important thing for us is giving affection to the kids - that's the primary thing..... I think its important because school is not an affectionate place by definition, the fact that there'll be some plenty teachers who are affectionate, school is still all about assessing the kids, branding them, streaming them, shoving them out at the end, many of them probably most of them churned out at the end as academic failures, its a pretty hostile and unpleasant environment I think. The fact that its

masked by the fact that most teachers are PC and stuff, the rhetoric is about inclusion, about helping them, potential and so on, but that is just largely rhetoric I think - reinforcing class positions, I think its a primary thing about school.... we give the kids affection and make the kids feel it actually doesn't matter a toss how they're doing academically - they're still alright for who they are, it's what you are (Teacher 3 - 8/5/07)

This teacher makes the point that despite teachers' goodwill towards pupils the organisational structure of education may leave a considerable proportion of mainly working class young people with a sense of individual failure. Irrespective of intention then in this construction of dominating power or "malign influence" the class teacher is an inadvertent accomplice in the ongoing reinforcement of social inequality. Eva is a working class young woman who opts not to participate in a subject in which, as I witness, she finds it difficult to achieve and in this behaviour she resists the implicit definition of herself as academic failure - "I don't do anything in this class anyway."

"Negligence" refers to the failure of a competent agent to prevent harm "or foster wellbeing as appropriate to its publicly recognised social role," to fulfil their obligations as the dominant. Rosefield Academy puts considerable resources into supporting young people at risk of harm. The fact that Eva attends the Alternative Education Base marked an acknowledgement of her vulnerability. The lack of stigma in the school associated with attending the Base is evidence of an approach that ensures that young people from all social backgrounds are present in the Base and that it is never used as a punishment.

I remember thinking one day we had a sixth year boy who was almost self taught, brilliant academic but he had ME and we use to get him in school, full uniform in S1 up to S6, almost like something out of the bash street kids, he was like the swotty kid, and he would be sitting in the Base speaking to a kid in first year who was going to be one of your out and out rogues from half way through first year, and they were sitting having a conversation – and I think where else in the school can that happen (Teacher 1-3/5/07).

Its 'cause like I was just going through really tough times when we were doing hard subjects, so I was like well I am going down to Base because I can't really hack it.. (Martha 26/4/07)

Layla said she loved the Base because it was small and the pupils have more control. "We can decide what work to do" she said (Field notes 28/8/06).

The school is exerting power by directing resources or compensatory provision towards pupils who are experience disadvantage for a range of reasons (perhaps only temporarily) and in this sense was in part fulfilling an obligation of their social role to prevent harm. It is worth noting that the funding of the Base is always perceived to be potentially precarious and that it is sustained in no small measure because of the personalities involved. In the context of education funding cuts, if pitched against the perceived primary function of academic qualifications it is envisaged the Base could be seen to be a disposable extra⁵.

3.2 Power, Space and the Curriculum

McGregor (2004) argues that the use of time and space in schools is so taken for granted that it is barely perceived. Despite ongoing changes in educational policy schools still continue to be organised in ways that instil traditional hierarchical power relations. This might be related to how classrooms are set up, what is taught in the curriculum and how subjects are prioritised. This has a direct impact on the pupil population in relation to the choices they are able to make and their own status - from those who would be perceived as "successful" learners to those requiring "special" help and everyone in between. This status is made particularly explicit by the ability setting of Mathematics and English into Foundation, Intermediate and Credit classes.

I think they started streaming again two years ago. Maths and English are streaming. And I think perhaps in language now as well. It never used to be. But it is to get targets. It is to get pupils hitting ... maybe they feel that some of the better pupils weren't quite aiming ... maybe they thought it was bringing them down. I think the mix ... I think it is a shame that we have gone back to streaming.... I never look at targets. Targets are awful things. I know we have to do them but.....(Teacher 2 - 8/5/07)

Those placed in the bottom sets could sit only exams at Foundation level, which means they could only achieve a maximum of 5 or 6 in their Standard Grades where a top mark is a one.

⁵ Since the study the Base's resources have been reduced, a part-time teacher has been redeployed in the school and a youth worker providing support to school pupils has been made redundant

- MP Do you like Maths
- Sunni No
- MP Why not?
- Sunni Because we are kind of in the lowest set and then we do like baby type of work, that's why...
- Suri [Both talking] because that's the only highest grade you can get is a 5, you are capable of getting a 5.
- MP Right, so you will definitely get a 5, but you can't get a 4 say?
- Suri No you can't.
- MP Why?
- Suri Because the work in that class is only based on a foundational level
- MP Right, so are you disappointed to get put into a foundation class?
- Sunni Yeah
- Suri Well sometimes the work is not that easy, like we need to concentrate, but sometimes it's like very, very easy [both talking].
- MP What do you think then about them organising classes that way, do you think that's a good thing that they organise it like...
- Suri Not really because they just take the results in second year and then they don't even care about third year results because then they just put you in classes and then they only like move you down in third year exams, but they don't move you up a class, I don't think that's fair.
- (Sunni and Suri 7/11/06)

While Suri is not claiming to be brilliant at Mathematics as a subject, she objects to being applied a label that denies the opportunity to aspire to a grade higher than 5. A high proportion of the core group of young people who participate in the study are in lower sets for English and Mathematics. Organising young people into classes or groups by ability can be understood to enable more effective learning (Achievement for All, SEED 1996). The idea being that there is no such thing as an average pupil and that young people may be better at some things than others so consequently will be better placed in different ability groups in different subjects. Old style "streaming" describes assigning young people to a specific class (or school) for all subjects based on prior attainment. It is significant then that teachers and pupils in this school appear to understand ability setting as a form of streaming. Research evidence suggests that there is a higher proportion of pupils from poor families in lower ability classes (Harlen and Malcolm 1997). Evidence also suggests that already higher

attaining pupils do better and lower attaining pupils do worse, effectively widening inequalities in attainment (Hallam and Toutounji 1996). Pupils in this school defined as "Neds" or "Chavs" are also perceived to be more likely to be in lower sets reflecting research linking social background and educational achievement. While pupils see that certain types of pupils such as "Neds" are likely to be in these classes - as Sandra puts it "the Neds aren't very good at stuff and that's why they always get themselves into trouble because they just like give up" (Sandra and Paul 7/11/06) - young people do not see this as related to disadvantage.

Sunni, Suri and Sandra are all in the same lower set English class as Eva. Mathematics and English are perceived to be high status subjects in terms of their exchange value in gaining access to Further and Higher Education courses and are the two largest departments in the school. Pupils then are very aware of the lack of status that comes with being placed in lower ability set classes. As Sunni implies pupils could also present as relatively powerless when it comes to where they have been placed in relation to the curriculum. For example Sandra and Paul have been removed from French to be part of a reduced timetable group but they are unable to say clearly why.

- M How do you get to come to the Base?
 Sandra I came for French.
 M Who decided?
 Sandra I'm not sure. I think it was Mr Smith, I'm not sure.
 M And you just got told to come here.
 Sandra Yes.
 M Is that what happened to you?
 Paul Yes
 M Was it for a particular subject?
 Paul I got taken out of French.
 (Sandra and Paul 7/11/06)

The implication is that it is something that had been done to them rather than a choice they participated in. They both imply that they are relatively happy with the

decision however because they get to spend time working with a small group of four pupils in the Base which is preferable to a large French class. Pupils are allocated space in terms of the classes they have to attend and in relation to where they are seated in a class - a strategy that can implicitly highlight and reinforce social divisions (Harlan & Malcolm 1997).

Pupils explain that teachers can have a seating plan, which means that pupils have to sit in specific seats. Teacher control of space in a classroom in terms of deciding who sits where may be to facilitate differing pupil relationships but from what I witness appears to be a strategy to maintain control by avoiding "troublesome" pupils sitting together. In the aforementioned English class it seems that pupils could mainly sit where they wish but the teacher made reference to the fact that pupils have been moved to particular seats. In terms of where they sit classes could often be pretty much divided by gender, race, social class, or associated sub-cultural group.

.... in a school like this you could go round for six years and still not know somebody in your year. I do think it is because they sit in groups of geeks or Goths or whatever and the nice pretty girls, it doesn't seem very mixed, I think in a classroom they can be nice enough to each other to deal with what they have to do but I don't think [that happens] outside the classroom. Maybe that's just my cynical view of things, but that's what I get from the kids, some of them have written things like "I get hassle for being a skater" or something - I don't even know what that means - but just little things like that.... (Teacher 6 - 1/5/07)

This teacher highlights both awareness, and a lack of knowledge of pupil sub-cultures. She points out that pupils sit in distinct groups. In most classes the girls sit together and the boys sit together. Where there is more than one Asian/Scottish girl, in the classes I see, they sit together. In all the classes I witness there is no more than one Asian Scottish boy and they sit beside another White Scottish boy or on their own. They seem more likely to have White Scottish friends than the Asian Scottish girls I witness. When a boy and a girl are sitting at the front, as they are in the English class this is usually an indication they had been put there to separate them from their friends. The existence of social divisions between pupils sharing the same space is made apparent to me in a French class when the teacher opts near the end of the lesson to let pupils have "free time" when they can sit where they want. Suri, the

only Asian Scottish girl in the class has been sitting next to a White Scottish girl but is left sitting on her own. Longer haired boys sit together and shorter haired boys sit together. This often indicates a difference in social background (it is unusual for boys from working class backgrounds in this school to have long hair).

The teacher tells the pupils if they finish this piece of work they can have a wee bit of free time. The pupils move after a short time into friendship groups rather than where they were sitting. The girl sitting next to Suri moves and three girls end up sitting to my left and chat about visits to the dentist. One of them combs her long blonde hair. Suri is now sitting alone. She does not look particularly discomfited. Lewis and Dave - sitting in front of me are now in a large group of boys who have joined their table. Two longhaired boys in the class sit together and a boy in front turns to talk to them and another boy sitting to one side tries to pull away a longhaired boy's rucksack... The boys in front of me are now throwing paper into the bin at the front of the class. The teacher wearily tells them to pick it up because it hasn't gone in. This turns into a game (for these boys) with a boy returning the paper to his comrades at the back, then throwing and missing and the teacher remonstrating (Field notes French Class 27/1/07).

While sharing desk space is important for pupils in forming relationships social relations, divisions and hierarchies are evident in the way that pupils opt to spend time with specific peers, the spaces that they use in classes and playground and the language they use to define other pupils use of space.

4 Encouraging uniformity: creating a safe space to learn?

One of the ways schools attempt to avoid pupils being marked out as negatively different in their style of dress is by imposing compulsory school uniform.

Len suggested I came over and met his learning support class, some of whom use the Base. We walked through the playground as the pupils were going back to classes after lunch. I felt slightly intimidated by the sheer of number of pupils, the mass of uniformed young people moving towards us when we stepped into the playground from the door of the Base. "Good Grief!" I said. Len, long used to this, was unmoved. (Field notes 3/10/06)

This school had reintroduced compulsory school uniform a couple of years previously and although pupils would work at wearing the uniform in distinguishable styles, encountering pupils en masse, the uniform did, as the term implies, create a slightly unnerving image of homogenous youth. School uniform also offers a visual

representation of authoritative power perceived by some of the study respondents to be acting in their interests although it could also be simultaneously resisted. Most of the pupils participating in the study remember school uniform being reintroduced and understand it as being to prevent bullying i.e. pupils being criticised by their peers on the basis of how they dressed.

When we were in First and Second year it was like "Oh my god, you're a Goth" and "Oh my god, look at what you're wearing" and stuff. It was worse in First year because we were allowed to wear what we wanted and we didn't have a uniform. So it was worse in First year. (Layla 9/11/06)

Pupil descriptions of different cultural groups highlight that the school uniform does not prevent differentiation. Paul feels that the uniform is not imposed effectively enough in this school. He says that the way they dressed in relation to school uniform in his old school "made you feel proud of your school". In this school, Paul comments that he hardly ever wears his tie because he wears a top where the tie is not visible anyway. Teachers essentially do not know whether he is wearing one or not and rarely ask him.

I haven't been wearing a tie for a couple of months after being here, 'cause I realised no one cares and the teachers don't ask or anything, and your tie is just hidden away. (Paul 18/4/07)

Paul says that he did always bring his tie with him but kept it in his bag on the off chance he is challenged and has to put it back on again. His statement that "no-one cares" related to his perception that teachers don't control pupils enough in this school. Paul says that since teachers can no longer hit pupils with a cane or a belt he feels that "discipline for my generation has gone down the drain". His use of this well worn phrase reflects a perspective that it does not seem in Paul's interests, as a young person, to endorse. He defends his position however,

I guess in the old days when the teacher was telling you off, you wouldn't answer back but these days, when the teacher is shouting at you, you would answer back and the teacher can't do anything about it (Paul 5/2/07)

However witnessing Paul in the context of classrooms he is a very quiet presence he is not someone who is likely to challenge teachers. Paul's home circumstances have dramatically changed as a consequence of the separation of his parents, leading to a move to Scotland with his Mum leaving behind his home, school, brothers and friends. He has been bullied in this school linked he feels to his lack of a history in this school, a lack of a network of supportive relationships, such as friends or relatives who attend Rosefield Academy and who he can mobilise on his behalf. In Bourdieu's (1986) terms, in the context of this school, he lacks social capital. His primary protection, then, would come from school discipline from the power of teachers and school systems to defend pupils from abuses by their more powerful peers. When Paul refers to the indiscipline of his generation he appears to be talking about a certain section of his peers whom he feels teachers do not have the power to control consequently leaving him vulnerable.

...there is a fight, I don't know, you watch it and then you feel that could have been you. Or once the school up the road, Hawthorn, they came down and we had to like all stay in here while the police came and stuff, and one time there was this big group of lads in this school who went round happy slapping everyone. (Paul 18/4/07)

There is a general culture of resistance to teacher power on the one hand in terms of maintaining status with peers (illustrated by Paul not wearing the compulsory tie) however, as Hearn (2008) has illuminated dominating power may not always be conceived as a negative, the exercise of power by teachers can be welcomed by pupils when it is used to protect, to control pupils perceived to be unruly and threatening, creating safe spaces in which to learn.

Yes, they get all the attention like but they're being bad. That's how you get behind in work and like miss out things as well (Sandra 7/11/06)

..its just less chance of you getting jumped inside school than there is outside school. But that doesn't really worry me - it's just that fighting isn't all that good all the time (Darren 9/11/06)

Kids are going into a class, dreading it, because they know there is no discipline, they know there is going to be problems. They know they might be picked on by certain pupils. They are sometimes scared to tell teachers that that is happening (Teacher 2 -8/5/07)

Pupil relationships can have a critical impact, then, on how pupils experience a curriculum subject. Observing Eva for example in the English classroom and in other contexts it is clear that she is a powerful presence in relation to her peers as well as the English teacher. Young women talk to her in manner that implies a need for Eva's approval. Sandra's somewhat startled reaction to my presence in the English class appears to be related to her awareness of Eva's authority rather than my own. I witness Eva treat adults with same apparently fearless indifference that she applies to many of her peers. At the same time pupils who resist teacher power are perceived to be the most popular. When pupils are asked who they perceive to be most powerful amongst the pupil group they said "Chavs" or "Neds."

Well they [Neds] are the ones that have kinda got, I would probably have to say they've got courage. (Peter 5/2/07)

Eva would probably have been identified to fall into this category because of her style of dress, her colloquial speech patterns and her combative relationship with some teachers. Eva could clearly be intimidating to her contemporaries. Young people indicate that their behaviour is shaped by the potential vilification of peers but that this power may be transitory.

4.1 Peer control and teacher protection

.. basically what is happening is all the idiots are leaving in fourth year, all the idiots are going so you can actually act more yourself.., you can talk to who you want to more..... it is all the idiot laddies its just like... honestly anything that you do you can get judged by like the laddies.... if you are talking to somebody "what you are talking to them for they're a geek", you feel so bad for the other person, you start cringing, you are just like - what... (Layla 19/4/07)

Layla highlights, here, her own vulnerability to being judged and her need to fit in with her peers. She illuminates that the pupils she calls "the idiots" set the terms of a counter culture opposing incorporation into the school's academic measures of success and in the process contribute to the marking of social divisions mainly between pupils from different social backgrounds.

If you are like people that are popular and that and like you see somebody that you usually talk to, but you're wi' all these popular people you dinnae really want to talk to them, so you are totally changing the person that you are because you dinnae want them to see you talking to them (Layla 19/4/07)

Some pupils make the point, however, that it can be considered alright to tease or 'slag' each other if you are friends but if it is people that are not friends who are doing the criticising, then that is bullying. One of Sandra and Fiona's friendship group, Rhona, is a young woman with a visible disability.

- | | |
|--------|--|
| Kieren | No sometimes we will say 'where's disabled?' and everyone is like [gasp]...but she thinks it is absolutely hilarious but it's 'cause we are really, really good friends, but no-one else could do it |
| Linda | Yeah but if I heard anyone else say that to them I would be going mental, it's ok for us if it is a friend, it's not ok for just a random off the street to say it... |
| Rhona | It's worse really if it is someone you don't know |
| Rena | And if it goes on for a long time... |
| Keiren | And it can depend on the person that is getting it |
| Linda | And the way it is said |
| Keiren | Sometimes bullies can bully people and not think it is that bad but it can really hurt the other person. |
| Rhona | Like a more higher class person could be bullied by a lower class person, but it wouldn't be seen as bullying because everyone else could see that there was something wrong with them but if it was the other way around... |
| Linda | If a white person says something racist to a black person then it's an outrage but if it's the other way around then it's not 'cause it is ok for a black person to say something about a white person..... |

(Sandra and Fiona's friends 2/3/07)

This group of Sandra and Fiona's friends draw attention to the significance of the power relations embedded in the social field to the application of moral codes in social relations between young people. The use of the expression "where's disabled?" is potentially shocking or meaningful as irony between friends only in the context of a social field in which disability is constructed as individual misfortune diminishing disabled people's status in contrast to non-disabled people. The underlying implicit

moral code being that it is wrong to make fun of people who are less fortunate than you. Disability can, however, be understood to refer to attitudinal and social barriers which are disabling to people with impairments and with this interpretation the expression "where's disabled?" would be meaningless. Disability here refers to social barriers not an individual person. Young people, including Rhona herself, implicitly accept the construction of disabled people as experiencing disadvantage as a consequence of impairment, a perceived individual deficit rather than being disadvantaged by social, cultural and structural barriers.

Similarly, implicit in Rhona and Linda's point about how bullying by a "higher class" person of a "lower class" person or a White person of a Black person is "outrageous" in a way that it is not the other way around, is a recognition of differences in power and cultural status between the two social groups. Bullying is being understood as an abuse of power by someone in a powerful position over someone less powerful. Rhona suggests that "lower class" people's lack of power and status means that they cannot have the same impact bullying "higher class" people. However Kieren goes on to argue,

- | | |
|--------|--|
| Keiren | Yeah but if people like, not so well off people and people that haven't been brought up very well they tend to be bullies I think. |
| Rena | Yeah, because they want something more that other people have got |
| Keiren | U huh and then it turns into jealousy and they will bully that person for what they have got. |
| Rhona | But its not always the case, like the people like... I wouldn't want to give names, but like the people that get bullied at our school - people aren't jealous of...they are just different. |

(Sandra and Fiona's friends 2/3/07)

In this instance, Kieren appears to conflate people who are "not so well off" with the same bullying characteristics as "people that have not been brought up very well". Bullying in this debate could be seen to be constructed as related to the individual deficits of both the "jealous" bullies and the "different" bullied rather than as a reflection of wider societal differences in power and status. However they also highlight the point made by Layla, that power relations in a comprehensive school

may reflect a response to power relations in wider society in that they to some extent invert those power relations within the pupil body during the first four years of secondary school. Pupils that might go on to have minimal power or recognition in wider society, for example some of the working class pupils, can exert power and achieve status within the micro-climate of a school, amongst a pupil group who as teenagers have a shared, relatively limited, social status, and during the restricted time frame of a few school years. Similarly the so called "geeks", for example some of the academically successful often middle class pupils, who have perceived low status within the confines of school may go on to have very high status in wider society. Layla (19/4/07) acknowledges that she may have in the past engaged "in a healthy dose of bitchiness" towards people who are geeks. She sees herself as growing up however and perceives maturity as about not judging people or mocking them and also as about taking "responsibility for yourself".

Good teachers are perceived to be ones who maintain discipline but who also treat pupils fairly, who are seen to care about their subject and about pupils learning.

- F Yes. There are boys who misbehave in our classes but if you've got a good teacher, then they're good. There's a boy called Cameron in our biology class and he misbehaves quite a lot but in food studies, because we've got a good teacher, he's really well behaved. He doesn't muck about and he talks to me in biology and stuff so.
- M What do you think the difference is for him?
- F I think it is the teacher and what he's getting taught.
- M Is it because the teacher's nice to him?
- F Probably and he doesn't blame him for stuff and put pressure on him to work so he just gets on with it. (Fiona 9/11/06)

Pupils state that they enjoyed participating in classes in which they feel that they have a good relationship with the teacher, where they feel the teacher valued and liked them and their point of view is listened to and respected.

They spend time to get to know you as a person, not judge you before they know you. ..I was so happy this year when I was told that I was getting that teacher because she spent a year to get to know me (Layla 9/11/06)

Teachers can be perceived to be exercising power in the interests of the pupils if they maintain control of a class but this is mediated by the relative powerlessness of pupils in relation to adults or teachers and their consequent dependence on a teacher behaving fairly towards them. In pupil terms this can be related to whether they feel the teacher likes them or not.

Usually if there's an argument between a student and a teacher, the teacher would usually win... because it's a teacher, it's an adult, and there will be usually another teacher listening to the argument, and they will just go on the side of the teacher (Paul 18/4/07).

Pupil interests in the context of school power relations are, as Lukes (2005) suggests, multiple, differential and conflicting. Fiona, Paul or Layla's interests for example may diverge or conflict in certain contexts in relation to what they require from an educational setting and the teacher. Pupils might want a teacher to exert power on their behalf to defend them from more powerful pupils. When pupils are in conflict with a teacher they may feel that teachers can, as Paul suggests, take unfair advantage of their more powerful position as an adult. Teachers also express recognition that pupils want them to take responsibility for exerting control - "Kids are going into a class, dreading it, because they know there is no discipline, they know there is going to be problems."

The so called "Neds" and "Chavs" who young people construct as powerful in classroom contexts can also be seen from the perspective of an adult as vulnerable. For example Eva is a young woman who clearly is intimidating to some of her peers but when she speaks to me informally in the context of the Base about her home life she conveys a much more vulnerable persona (Field notes 15/3/07). While schooling can produce relationships of conditioning which structure the habitus, Reay (1997) points out that this relationship is dialectical in that habitus can also influence

perceptions of the social field in which an actor is located. For example Nina's experiences to date lead her to conclude that adults cannot be trusted.

Margaret What about adults? Do you think young people have adults they can trust?

Nina No

(Nina 23/4/07)

As someone who is "Looked After" by the local authority, Nina is likely to have had more experience than most of the power of adults to negatively affect the quality of her life either by betraying her trust and/or denying her any security or stability in relation to where she lives, and with whom. This affects her perception of adults and consequently her disposition towards them in differing social fields in and out of school. She is a young woman who has very few choices in relation to the context she is in and like Darren is known for flying into rages during which, like Darren, she is described by teachers as very difficult to control. In conversation Nina carefully avoids revealing anything about her own situation and makes clear that she does not like the idea of people talking about someone's personal situation. Her home situation has placed her in a particularly powerless position but she rejects a version of herself as a victim. Her generally cheerful demeanour alongside her description of herself as a "normal girly girl" resists a disempowering version of herself as merely the object of help, someone who needs to be "Looked After" by the Social Work Department.

Staluisis (2002: 510) points out that there is nothing contradictory about children and young people wanting both the right to participation as citizens, to have their opinion taken into account and, like other marginalised social groups, to be protected. Adults however, she argues, often frame children and young people's participation in decision making as mutually incompatible with their need for protection (Staluisis 2002: 513). Young people who have had to contend with considerable obstacles in their lives can be negatively constructed as "Neds" or "Chavs," and misrecognised as

anti-social or "bad" citizens when the issue at stake may be their experience of inadequate protection and ongoing lack of parity of participation (Fraser 2003).

5 Troublesome Teenagers?

As highlighted in the theory chapter, youth can be seen as a social category which ascribes a specific social identity that can invoke social concern and political intervention, particularly in relation to charging schools with a responsibility for shaping young people's citizenship attitudes and behaviour (Blair 2006). Study participants are very aware of negative adult perceptions of teenagers implicating youth with anti-social behaviour.

Adults should realise that kids have a laugh just because that's what we do, maist adults think we're doing it just to annoy them or get into trouble just to do this, just to do that. If I could change that, I would. I would like to be able to make adults respect us. I respect the police and shop keepers and all that because I know that they get hassle and I respect them for doing their job properly but adults just don't respect kids at all. That's what I would love to be able to change, to get respect from adults (Darren 8/2/07)

Darren highlights here his sense that adults are intolerant of young people's ways of enjoying themselves and tend to perceive their behaviour as "troublesome". When it came to play fighting with friends, making a noise or drinking alcohol Darren says - "most adults think its ok for them to do stuff at our age but it's not ok for us to do it". He says his Mum had admitted that she had drunk alcohol at his age but didn't want him to do it - "she's being a hypocrite". In other words what was considered "right" for them as young people they considered "wrong" in relation to young people now. Darren suggests that a moral double standard is applied in which behaviour currently or previously indulged in by adults is frowned upon when enacted by young people.

When asked about the difference between a good citizen and a bad citizen several of the young people spontaneously defend teenage behaviour. Peter suggests that teenagers are mistrusted even when they are trying be "good" or helpful - "if an adult helps someone they will think its ok, but if it's a teenager they are like "this isn't right" - 'cause usually teenagers are usually wanting to have fun". As Darren

suggests a teenager's perception of "fun" could be seen in an adult's version as "irresponsible" or "troublesome". "

When we walk past to the park some adults look scared of us. If they had respect for us you know they wouldn't be scared of us. We are just going to the park to have a laugh to get out of everyone's way... (Darren 8/2/07)

Darren shows a recognition of adults fear of groups of teenagers also highlighting a repeated perception that teenagers are assumed to either be guilty of, or on the verge of, "bad" behaviour. As Peter (25/1/07) put it "it is quite annoying how when you walk into a shop, they will all just automatically look at you thinking you are going to steal something". Freddie, however, acknowledges that it can be a powerful feeling to know that adults are intimidated by him

Aye because I put my like, hoodie on and my jacket and all that stuff. And when I go out you see people crossing the road when you get near them. And you are like 'they don't even know what I'm like'. But when you walk down the street it makes you sort of feel good because you are, you think 'oh I'm well respected'. But then it sort of hits you that you are not respected you are just, like everyone is scared of you. (Freddie 17/4/07)

Darren, Peter and Freddie highlight negative perceptions of youth that are universally applied. Sandra (19/4/07) also points out "...all boys wear hoodies out. It doesn't mean they are Neds". Freddie also illustrates that assumptions are made about young people on the basis of how they dress and that young people are also highly conscious of the image they project. Layla objects to being judged by teachers who she feels don't understand anything about teenagers or teenage life.

And she's [the teacher] like "oh well I think your lives are sad and pathetic because you want to drink at this age". I was like I bet when her daughters were this age they were drinking and she was like "no they wouldn't have done nothing of the sort" (Layla 9/11/06)

Layla appreciates teachers who get to know her and don't judge her because she gets drunk at the weekends. When I ask her what she thinks a bad citizen is she spontaneously (like Darren) defends teenagers' right to drink,

..OK most teenagers drink, but I don't think that makes them bad people because they drink, because obviously most people in their life are going to have a drink, but it's just more seen today because you see more people doing it. It's easy to get drink...,

Layla points out here the cultural acceptability of drinking alcohol and the easy accessibility of alcohol to teenagers. Describing drinking heavily as a consequence of depression in her third year at secondary school she also says

I don't think that makes you a bad person because you have got to go out and have a drink, and I don't think it makes you a bad person cause you have an argument, cause like if you have an argument in a street and somebody old walked passed and said "look at the state of that" I don't think it makes you a bad person (Layla 19/4/07)

Layla's repeated use of the phrase "I don't think it makes you a bad person" reinforces the perception that she thinks she will be judged negatively for her drinking. She highlights young people's vulnerability to dangerous levels of alcohol consumption as a way of dealing with emotional problems and also that such behaviour can easily result in social reproach rather than sympathy or support. All the young people spoke about teenagers drinking alcohol. Sunni and Suri describe their lack of alcohol consumption as one of the reasons they do not have so much in common with most of their non-Muslim contemporaries. Diane highlights that all young people get school inputs on alcohol etc. in first, second and third year,

It was like sort of drinking is bad and does this to you and taking drugs is bad and does this to you and having sex does this and that. But it wasn't actually, but that was kind of it. It was the sort of facts. There wasn't sort of morals or anything to it. (Diane 18/4/07)

Diane intimates that health education about the impact of alcohol, drugs and sex did not have any moral content however her use of the term "bad" in relation to drink and drugs suggests there was some form of moral guidance or judgement taking place. Martha (26/4/07) indicates that these talks could get boring after a few years of them "you just stop listening because its like yes we know what drugs can do to you, we have had this talk like fifty times". Diane also argues,

I don't think drugs are like as big a thing as adults like think they are with teenagers and stuff. I think alcohol is but I think teenagers do know how to drink in moderation as well if they want to. And like, I don't know, I think it really depends on the person, like each person's own set of circumstances. 'Cause I know my big brother used to drink because he was depressed and stuff. (Diane 1/3/07)

Like Layla and Darren, Diane points out that drinking is a prevalent part of teenage life but that all teenagers are not the same, styles of drinking are not universal. She argues that it is "not as bad as people think it is". Teachers too spoke about the heavy drinking that could take place during their end of term nights out. Freddie described his Dad as an alcoholic. Alcohol related deaths amongst men in Scotland are twice that of the rest of the UK and Scotland has one of the highest rates of cirrhosis related mortality rates in Europe (Scottish Health Action on Alcohol Problems 2007). In cultural terms then excessive alcohol consumption is a prevalent part of Scottish adult life. The issue that young people highlight is that while they understand that drinking excessively is potentially problematic (for example when depressed), drinking alcohol is also culturally valued by adults, easily accessible and associated with having a good time.

For example Martha (28/2/07) acknowledges that drugs and alcohol are potentially dangerous but describes herself as a hypocrite because she mixes taking anti-depressants with drinking alcohol which she recognised as a depressant "they cancel each other out so there's no point in me being on anti-depressants if I drink alcohol but I do anyway". White Scottish young people's habitus reflects a adult cultural tolerance of (excessive) alcohol consumption likely to be absent for Sunni and Suri. In this context educational inputs alerting young people to the dangers of excessive alcohol consumption are likely to be largely ineffectual (SHAAP 2007).

Darren's point about adult hypocrisy is in this sense well made. Moral codes explicitly and implicitly absorbed by young people in relation to alcohol consumption are highly contradictory. Individual teenagers may struggle to be the vanguard of "good" behaviour in relation to alcohol consumption when alcohol is so cheaply and easily available and excess is so widely culturally tolerated in adult

society. The key point that the participants highlight with this example of alcohol consumption, is that teenage behaviour is not universal and cannot be divorced from wider social and cultural norms of behaviour.

5.1 Responsible young citizens

The participants make a clear distinction between themselves and adults. They do not yet see themselves as adults although some of them may have embodied an adult shape and size. As Peter puts it,

its like adults are a lot different to teenagers if you actually know, because teenagers are more like... they kind have still got the child stuff in them, they are a bit childish (Peter 23/4/07)

In addition to highlighting adult stereotypes of teenagers, participants could also describe their contemporaries in terms that reflect these stereotypes, for example in the course of discussing teenage "Emos", Diane suggests,

..personally I think that like human beings, especially teenagers can be really shallow. Because especially when you are a teenagers it's like hormones and that, you are quite selfish and whatever. It's just the way it is. It's always been that way. (Diane 1/3/07)

Diane goes on to highlight the concept of the teenager as a relatively recent phenomenon, and how each generation had a style of music or form of rebellion that was popular during a particular decade from the sixties until the present day.

Although she describes her contemporaries as selfish, Diane is a young woman who engages in voluntary work outside of school and offers peer support in school.

Peter's ambition is to be a youth worker

I like helping troubled teens, see I know I have had trouble but that's kind of my advantage to help others, cause I know... right what did I do and what have they done, and then I can say right have you ever tried this (Peter 23/4/07)

Peter's use of the term "troubled teens" reflects a common perception of teenagers as "troubled" and/or "troublesome", terms which both individualise social problems confronted by adolescents and homogenise teenagers as a social group. The attitudes

expressed by the participants and their witnessed behaviour belie the negative, homogenising stereotype of teenagers that participants both reject and to some degree, as Peter and Diane's comments suggest, have also internalised. For example, Darren describes participating in a campaign to save his local primary school.

Yeah, because that's where I live and I did go on big protests to stop the school from getting closed...I went on strike so [the primary school] would get kept open (Darren 25/1/07)

Paul describes being a member of his pupil council in his previous school.

..I represented my form class because there were two in each form and I represented the form...I only did it for a joke and then they all voted for me...I had to talk to my form as well. It was alright because I knew everyone from my primary school but then I left half way through 2nd year and came up here. (Paul - Paul and Sandra 7/11/06)

Martha had been an active participant on city wide youth councils for about a year but gave it up after a period of depression.

I enjoyed the youth service advisory committee but being in that meant I had to feed back to my local groups and the executive but I didn't want to do that because it would mean having to go back and it was too much effort (Martha 12/1/07)

Both Sunni and Suri describe caring for younger siblings and helping them with their homework.

Well I did have to like tell him to behave himself and be responsible like, just like to help and that with like his homework and that because he's like in first year and then, so all the stuff that he's doing basically I've like covered it and that (Sunni - Sunni and Suri 21/2/07).

Yeah, I iron their clothes and if mum's not feeling well I make them their food, give them it and then tidy the house and then...and then help them if they need any help with their homework or any other things. And I tell them off if they are doing something really bad. But if I tell them off they just make me laugh. So... (Suri - Sunni and Suri 21/2/07)

Freddie describes looking after a younger child in his neighbourhood.

I look after a wee laddie next door, James. He's ten but he's got a growth disorder so he's got the height of a two year old - he still runs around and everything. He plays basketball for his school and he's one of the best players I've seen. He can beat

me....His Mum and Dad are real good friends with my Mum. My Mum would look after him but my Mum used to be busy when we were younger so she left me in charge of him... He took a shine to me so my Mum said 'you look after him' and he now calls me his big brother....Yeah he's cool. (Freddie 10/1/07)

Nina describes helping a boy whom she was previously "Looked After" with by the local authority and who self-harms.

I don't know if this person gets depressed or not, but he goes in like moods and like he cuts his self and stuff. I don't know if he is depressed or not 'cause I don't really talk to him about it but he will tell me he has done stuff and like he will tell me why he has done it and stuff... 'cause he can't speak to the people that he lives with ...or he writes it down and like sends it to me. It used to make me really sad at first, that's because I used to live with him constantly but I don't now, I can understand (Nina 28/2/07)

Layla also says,

I worked with autistic children in my work experience and I loved it (Layla 20/2/07)

Sandra and Fiona display a particular commitment towards each other in addition to a wider group of friends.

Say me and Fiona fell out and I had told her something, but I don't think she would go and tell anyone else about what I told her....But there are some people if you fell out with them, they would tell other people what you had told them.... you don't trust all your best friends but you trust most of them... you don't love them like a boyfriend but you love them just the way they are and the way they treat you (Sandra - Sandra and Fiona 20/2/07)

Margaret If you were worried about something would you talk to your friends?

Fiona Yes, mostly Sandra because she is my best friend (Fiona 9/11/06)

Each of the young people reveal these contributions to their friends, wider peer group or community in the course of conversation barely acknowledging that they have offered or are offering anything particularly valuable or significant.

The perception presented is that young people as a group are socially and culturally "misrecognised" and to be a young person or teenager is to be inscribed with an assumed personal deficit that does not accurately reflect who they are.

6 Conclusions

A range of commentators point out that the construction of the social category of children and youth has implied universal markers of human development and in so doing has suggested a hierarchy of developmental progress (Morss 1990, Venn 1998, Walkerdine 1998). In this account young people are located in a position of inferiority to adults compounded by their spatial segregation into institutions such as the school (Morss 1990:4, Valentine 2000: 258). Young people participating in this study are very aware of the lack of cultural status attributed to the social category of "youth" and relate their own experiences of being automatically negatively received in public space. They highlight a moral double standard in which they are socially stigmatised for behaviour such as excessive alcohol consumption when, for example, cheap alcohol and heavy consumption is widely culturally tolerated amongst the adult population. They also, however, reiterate and appear to a certain extent to have internalised a stereotyped deficit construction of "youth" when their own narratives of caring, compassion and taking responsibility for others contradict this conception.

In this school, a uniform has been re-introduced that research participants understand is to avoid young people being stigmatised because of how they dress, however, observing young people in uniform moving about public space en masse does contribute to a perception of a homogeneous group socially distinct from the adult population. The spatial segregation of children and young people into school institutions implicitly homogenises the category of youth and contributes to the cultural status of young people as not yet "responsible" adult citizens. Young people in this study are clear that they do not yet feel ready to take full responsibility as adults but also clearly contradict a conception that young people don't take responsibility for their own actions or for others. In addition young people clearly

indicate multiple and negotiated identities, a distinct lack of homogeneity. Mass education implicitly structures the hierarchical relationship between adults and young people and is highlighted here in young people's sense of their publicly ascribed not-yet-equal-citizen identity (Valentine 2000). The production of young people's citizenship identities in schooling is also affected by the institutional ascription of key cultural value to passing exams.

Young people's experience of citizenship includes compulsory attendance at school. Schooling can be understood to enable young people to gain social and cultural capital in the form of qualifications and social networks. Egalitarianism in Scottish culture is particularly linked to the notion that anyone in Scotland can achieve educationally irrespective of background (McCrone 2003). However research suggests that while young people from working class backgrounds attain more educationally than they do in England the gap between the educational achievement of working class and middle class young people is greater in Scotland (Raffe et al 2006). In other words social class background is still a key determinant of educational achievement in Scotland - middle class young people do better. While young people in this study do "misrecognise" educational achievement as an expression of individual talent rather than social or cultural advantage, they also make a link between social background, educational achievement and future economic rewards. As highlighted in Chapter 4 this can lead to class envy and antagonism. Young people also highlight, however, tension and power differentials between pupils from the same social background.

Young people in Scotland are more likely to be comprehensively educated and young people across the social classes are more likely to achieve post compulsory qualifications and enter Higher Education than anywhere else in Britain (Croxford et al 2006). There is no evidence then that comprehensive education inhibits or depresses educational achievement. The recommendation by Her Majesties Inspectorate of Education in Scotland that schools return to "ability setting" organising pupils into classes by "ability" has been taken up in this school. This is

driven by the idea that this system of organising pupils will improve academic results although disadvantages are well documented and are visible in this study (Croxford 2009).

There is not consistent and reliable evidence of positive effects of setting and streaming in any subjects or for students of particular ability levels. When ability groups are formed by setting or streaming their disadvantages are well documented: reinforcing social class divisions, increased likelihood of delinquent behaviour in the later school years, lower teacher expectations of the less able, bias and inconsistency in allocating pupils to ability groups, anxiety for pupils struggling to keep up with the pace of the class (Harlen and Malcom 1997: 40 quoted in Croxford 2009: 10)

Young people make clear that they are very aware of the social hierarchies implicit in the organisation of school space. Research participants indicate a sense of resentment when they are allocated to a lower set class because they recognise their construction as low achievers.

I spent time observing pupils in classrooms and the difference in pupil behaviour in some contexts in comparison to others is palpable. It is clear that some pupils have very little investment in co-operating with the teachers' agenda in particularly lower set classes. In one lower set English class I witness a pupil, Rob be very disruptive (see Chapter 4). His behaviour has a ripple effect in relation to the rest of the class who begin to respond to him in ways that pay homage to the power he is wielding over the direction of the teacher's lesson. He becomes the person they are potentially threatened by rather than the teacher. In the setting of the Base, I see a more charming Rob who has over time developed a more mutually respectful relationship with the teachers involved. These teachers are going to help him get the apprenticeship he desires.

Pupil habitus is conditioned by their relative position in the social field of the classroom or other social space in school and the habitus of particular pupils can have a profound affect on the social field and the expressed dispositions of those around them. In the context of a classroom when particular groups of powerful pupils are present they are under pressure to conform to a particular form of behaviour. While teachers generally hold the greatest power, particular pupils can wield

considerable power in relation to their peers and there is a real anxiety amongst young people about potential humiliation by either the teacher or peers in front of the other pupils. Conversely pupils hate when the teacher does not exert power and particular pupils can intimidate the rest of the class.

In the context of a school there can be more than one "game" or social "field" operating at the same time. An easy proficiency in one "game" or "field" may not reflect, or could even undermine proficiency in, another. Young people in a school are negotiating the social "field" produced by the cultural and social networks of their peers in addition to the social fields produced by the cultures of different classrooms and the culture of school itself. For example Layla's confident demeanour, boldly contemporary style celebrating ostentatious femininity, easy engagement in conversation, fearlessness in expressing her views and value system that conceives image, how she appears visually and socially to her peers as a key priority, enables her to feel popular and successful in the social field of her (particular) peer or "friendship" group in school. However, Layla's regular conflict with teachers and contemporaries suggest that her "feel for the game" in relation to fitting in to formal school culture, codes and practices as a route to achieving academic success, is perhaps less reflective of her habitus. She has been excluded from the school five times and although she talks of staying on at school until 6th year, I later meet her at a bus stop and she tells me she left school part way into the first term of 5th year and is working part-time in a shop.

Pupils defined as powerful and clearly intimidating to other young people or denigrated as "Neds" or "Chavs" also indicate their need of adult care, protection and attention. This is recognised in the compensatory and successfully non stigmatised provision made available in this school by the Base. Recognising young people's need for protection is not contradictory to also recognising their right for autonomy (Stasiulis 2002) When the habitus of a particular teacher reflects those of the pupils (such as particular teachers in the Base) then pupil and teacher can be more

comfortable with each other and styles of communication are markedly different. The layout of the space and the curriculum subject also make a difference.

This study illustrates that a dominant narrative amongst both pupils and teachers in schooling is about exam success. Teachers indicate a sense that they have little power to influence school priorities which are largely defined externally. The anxiety experienced by pupils leading up to and during examination periods and teachers leading up to and during an HMIe inspection is uncomfortably plain. Schooling can be seen to be shaped in part by an unstable global labour market in which, as highlighted earlier, the exchange value of qualifications has become increasingly significant (Beck & Beck - Gernsheim 2002). This then impacts on the social field of the classroom and the disposition of the teacher and consequently the pupils.

Bourdieu (1991) argues that it is the legitimacy or authority with which a discourse is backed which gives it power. The focus on exam results as the gold standard by which schools will be judged is taken for granted in a media driven climate of fear (Ball 2003). Evaluating academic progress or the fact that accreditation is sought is not the problem per se. It is rather that an emphasis on exam outcomes implicitly represented as a reflection of individual school or pupil ability can obscure the reality that social inequalities make the competition between schools and ultimately pupils inaccurate and unfair.

In addition social inequalities also mean that exam achievement is no guarantee of success on the labour market. Although girls' attainment is higher than boys' at Secondary 5th and 6th year levels and 57% of all university students are female, women are still far less visible in powerful areas of public life (EHRC 2008). Unemployment rates for ethnic minority women are two to three times higher than white women and they are almost completely absent from positions of power. Ethnic minority people are, however, proportionately more likely to be full time students and ethnic minority women are proportionately more likely to be working in professional occupations than white women (EHRC 2008). While anti-discriminatory

practices are visible in the school young people's conception that disadvantage is primarily related to an individual's capacity to fit into existing cultural norms suggests that schooling is not successfully challenging a false conception that individual achievement is primarily down to the individual. Also the focus on the instrumental value of schooling implicitly undermines young people's sense of the intrinsic value of education in encouraging critical thinking - in other words the skills and knowledge young people have at their disposal to engage with and question taken for granted cultural norms.

In summary: a key finding of this study is that young people both want to be respected as capable of responsible decision making and to be protected. While young people resent their diminished cultural status as not-yet-citizens in relation to adults, they equally do not yet feel ready to take adult responsibilities. In addition the dominant taken for granted narrative amongst pupils and teachers in school relating to exam success frames young people as citizens-in-the-making whose cultural status is derived from a future capacity to find a place in the economic labour market (Lister 2003). This emphasis on future individual achievement does not take account of young people's collective and differential experience of citizenship in the present and impacts on their constructions of self worth and citizenship identity.

Chapter Eight: Summary and Conclusion

1 Introduction

The first part of this chapter summarises the findings then sets out to review and discuss the data analysis offered in the four findings chapters in relation to my core research questions. Each question has been addressed across the four findings chapters. The second part of this chapter considers the implications of the findings for theory and practice.

2 Summarising the findings

Analysis of the data in Chapter Four demonstrates the classification of classed identities by young citizens in relation to the labels "Ned, Chav, Goth and Geek" and their identification with or disassociation from these terms. This data supports the contention that the marking of class differences is embedded in everyday processes and practices (Savage 2005, Reay 1997, 2005, Skeggs 1997, 2004). The data indicates that the young people closely relate delinquency or "bad" citizenship with a failure to achieve in education and in the process implicate their own identities within individualised explanations of success or failure. While they identify the social background of those young people who are more likely to achieve as more emotionally supportive or economically secure and associate educational achievement with a "better future", class advantage or disadvantage in education is not clearly understood.

The analysis of data in Chapter Five illuminates the gendered identities of young citizens via young people's constructions of "Plastics and Emos". Young people indicate a reflexive awareness of gender stereotypes in contemporary times and tolerance of gay, lesbian and bisexual identities, however traditional inequalities are highlighted as enduring. The young people perceived to be most popular in school can be observed to mobilise traditional models of femininity and masculinity implying that these conceptions continue to be hegemonic. Also while young people

indicate that Gay or Lesbian identities are given greater cultural legitimacy in contemporary times, they also highlight a fragile cultural status which depends on a Gay and Lesbian disposition or demeanour not straying too far in the social space of schooling from traditional conceptions of masculinity or femininity.

Chapter Six demonstrates that while young people conceptualise racism as morally wrong, Scottish ethnicity is largely assumed to be White, Christian but mainly secular, rather than a complex mix of diverse cultural and religious identities (Gilroy 1987, Virdee 2003). All young people use the word normal to define their own identities but this chapter highlights that young people's conceptions of "normality" are culturally and temporally specific. The wearing of a hijab, for example, signifying an emphasis on feminine modesty and the wearing of Muslim "culture's clothes" indicates the cultural value of a different construction of femininity in the Muslim community that, due to their minority status in school, Muslim young women mainly inhabit outside of school (Mernissi 2003).

The wearer of a hijab could not be defined as one of the "popular" or most powerful young women in school space, in the normative cultural terms the young people describe. The cultural value ascribed to Muslim identities is, as young people indicate, shaped by a contemporary social context in which diverse Muslim identities can be conflated with Islamic fundamentalism.

Chapter Seven indicates that the cultural space of school is inhabited and experienced differently by young people and adults. Disabled young people in the school are acknowledged to have a vulnerable status which is understood to require the protection of friends. However this vulnerability is understood to relate to disadvantage caused by impairment rather than cultural and structural barriers. Young people are aware of being constructed as a homogeneous social group who have limited cultural status as citizens. Their narratives indicate, however, how young people take responsibility for community, family and friends. Young people indicate that they both want autonomy and to be protected in school space. Both teachers and pupils indicate anxiety in relation to exam success, highlighting the central role of credentials in pupil and teacher conceptions of success and failure.

The focus on young people's future capacity to compete on the labour market constructs young people as citizens in the making, potentially undermining, in particular, disadvantaged young people's current contribution as citizens.

3 Answering the research questions

3.1 Redistribution, recognition and citizenship identities

What can young people's constructions of identities in the context of schooling tell us about contemporary constructions of a culturally valued citizenship in relation to classed, gendered and race identities?

This study demonstrates that young people classify each other on the basis of class, but class advantage or disadvantage in education is not clearly understood. Lack of achievement in education is constructed as related to individual deficits linked to challenging behaviour. Bourdieu is often criticised for the determinist implications of his concept of habitus as "a system of lasting and transposable dispositions" (quoted in Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 18) which "might imply that people's dispositions are largely fixed" (Savage 2003: 541). However the construction of the working class "Neds" or "Chavs" as the most popular and powerful young people in this school highlights the significance of social field in shaping the capital or power of a specific habitus. The issue at stake then is not the durability of disposition but rather the cultural value, authority or legitimacy different attributes are ascribed across different contexts or social fields. In other words in certain contexts, characteristics associated with working class young people have cultural capital or power.

It is the power that defines their position in the field and as a result their strategies (Bourdieu 1998: 40 - 41 quoted in Thompson 2008: 74).

The challenging characteristics ascribed to working class young people who are not achieving educationally reflects a reaction to the cultural devaluing of their position in the social context of school. In the context of a system of formal schooling in which it is more difficult for them to achieve institutionalised cultural capital in the

form of academic qualifications, working class young people defined as "Neds" or "Chavs" have the least to lose in resisting a construction of themselves as "failures" and most to gain from a status legitimised by peers whom they may dominate and who also pay homage to their authority in challenging the perceived dominating power of teachers or adults. However these same young people can be observed to display quite different characteristics in different contexts or social fields. For example when they are in a social field in which: - their working class habitus reflects the habitus of the person with the greatest volume of capitals or most power in the room i.e. the teacher or adult; and/or it is a social space which is less directly linked to the cultural capital of academic qualifications; they are free from judgement by peers and they are being listened to; they are in a context where their way of being is not under attack and they are not the most powerful person in the room; - the so called "troublesome" young people are no longer defensive and/or combative but funny, engaging and articulate in expressing their views with adults.

Young people's behaviour can be seen to be shaped by the distribution of power in a social space and the recognition and cultural value given to their way of being in different social fields. In this account "bad" or "good" citizenship is a question of location in social space relative to others rather than intrinsic individual characteristics (Bourdieu 1989). Bourdieu (1991) describes his concept of symbolic violence, the way people accept their own exclusion as related to their own personal deficits, as "an unperceived form of everyday violence" (Bourdieu and Eagleton 1991: 111). A culturally devalued class position must be understood as having an impact on young people's self perception and citizenship identity. A young person's sense of a culturally valued citizenship identity is implicated in their self confidence and how they practice citizenship.

Although class discrimination is not visible to young people, reference is made to the right of individuals not to be poorly treated on the grounds of gender, race, disability or sexuality. Discrimination is not properly understood, however and is constructed largely as a problem located with individuals. Muslim young women are conceived

to choose to "keep themselves to themselves." Popularity, and young men and women's self worth in this regard, is linked to traditional or hegemonic White Western conceptions of femininity or masculinity. A disabled young woman is understood to be disabled primarily by her impairment. Gay young men are conceived to display feminine characteristics and lesbian young women male characteristics. The issue at stake in this construction is how well a young person can fit in with the dominant cultural norms. The cultural legitimacy or authority of the norms is, however, implicitly taken for granted and not given critical scrutiny supporting Bourdieu's contention that agents implicitly absorb a sense of their place (2002: 235 (1984)). This does not tell the whole story however.

As previously indicated, Bourdieu points out (1984: 55) that all young people (including middle class young people) are in a position where they do not yet have independent economic power and therefore full citizenship status and may reject the trappings of a world in which they cannot participate by for example adopting opposing styles of dress and modes of behaviour as descriptions of Goths or Emos exemplify. Bourdieu's focus on the economic, however, does not take account of participants' assertion that sub-cultural groups also serve a function for young people across social classes in offering a collective recognition and respect for diverse young people who may be ascribed a reduced cultural value. This may be, for example, simply because they are young people, because they identify as Gay, Lesbian or Bisexual or because they have mental health issues. Young people's conception that the "Goths" are the most welcoming group of young people and that young people who have been bullied can join them underlines a search for collective identities, peer recognition and for the potential safety a large friendship group can bring. Young people's constructions of sub-cultural groups provide a template within which, or against which, young people can construct sameness and difference in an ongoing negotiation of and search for recognised identities. Although young people appear to accept that discrimination is primarily related to an individual stepping outside accepted social "norms," they are active in finding cultural or friendship groups that affirm their diverse identities.

To summarise: A key finding of this study is that traditional inequalities have ongoing significance in shaping young people's sense of a culturally valued citizenship identity. While young people indicate awareness of discrimination on the basis of gender, race, sexuality and disability, class discrimination is less visible. Young people also understand inequalities as primarily shaped by an individual's capacity to fit in with taken for granted, largely unquestioned hegemonic conceptions of cultural value. Young people are however active in counteracting dominant conceptions of cultural value via sub-cultural activity which enables them to find an alternative sense of place. In this sense young people take individual responsibility as citizens for their capacity to achieve a culturally valued citizenship identity, however, a lack of recognition of structural or cultural disadvantage can both undermine self worth and potential capacity to assert citizenship interests.

3.2 Contemporary culture and citizenship identities

What role does the much debated contemporary culture of individualism, globalisation and consumerism play in the construction of young citizens' identities in the context of Scottish schooling?

Giddens (1991, 2003), Bauman (2001), Beck & Beck Gernsheim (1996, 2002) have charted the rise of individualism or individualisation in Western contemporary culture. A key aspect of this is the changing labour market which has become increasingly insecure. The demise of heavy industries such as mining and steel as key features of the national economy in the UK have undermined collective working class identities and resistance associated with trade unionism. Globalisation has meant that companies are no longer limited by national boundaries and capital can freely move to where labour costs are cheapest (Bauman 2001). The mutual recognition of interdependence between employers and workers which gave workers some power in the relationship has become more fragile and the job market increasingly competitive. Employment positions have increasingly come to depend

on the new information technologies and the employment market is increasingly credentialised. There are few jobs that don't require qualifications.

The insecurity of the employment market and the creation of a quasi market in education encouraging competition between schools are made manifest in this study in the anxiety experienced by pupils and teachers about being examined. Young people clearly understand the significance of qualifications to their future job prospects and in this study clearly indicate their anxiety and the sense of importance they attribute to passing exams. Evaluating progress is not the problem per se but rather that social inequalities make the social and cultural judgement of individuals on this basis unfair. Data analysis indicates that young people understand their success in negotiating schooling and the employment market as up to them as individuals. As highlighted above while an understanding of class advantage is implicitly displayed in antagonisms between pupils from different social backgrounds, young people primarily construct exam success or failure as a question of individual ability. Solutions then are conceived as individual rather than collective and socially or culturally located (Furlong and Cartmel 1997: 4)

In addition young people are increasingly targeted by advertisers as a consumer "market" in their own right in a way not true for previous generations. Young people's discussions about brands indicate both that young people utilise brands as a resource in constructing identities but also that advertising and consumption are implicated in the classification of gendered, classed and ethnic identities. Although young people are clearly active makers of identities their choice of which citizenship identity they construct is very much conditioned by their cultural location in social space (Mac An Ghail 1994, Willis 2004).

To summarise: A key finding of this study is that while individualisation, globalisation and consumerism do shape contemporary young citizens' constructions of identity traditional inequalities continue to have defining significance.

3.3 Modelling culturally valued identities in schooling

- In what way does schooling inculcate a model of a culturally valued identity and how does this correspond with the stated educational policy aim in Scotland to shape "responsible citizens" and "self confident individuals"?

Stasiulis (2002: 513) has pointed out that children's vulnerability and dependence on adults is sometimes advanced as a reason why children (under 18) do not have full citizenship status. The data from this study indicates that young people are conscious of their diminished cultural status in relation to adults, evidenced they suggest in some adult attitudes to them in and out of school. Young people indicate that they resent this status and that they want to be treated with greater respect. However young people also indicate that while they want to have autonomy as young people they also want to be protected, for school to be a safe space. Young people indicate that they do not always feel safe amongst their peers in the context of school. All the young people participating in the research, including those identified as "popular" or "powerful" indicate a fear of peer vilification or negative social judgement.

The issue raised by other citizenship studies indicating a tension in education for citizenship between enabling the autonomy or agency of young people and the need for conformity or control is given a different spin by these young people (Gordon et al 2000, Cunningham & Lavalette 2004). They do not want to conform or to be controlled but they would rather have a structure in schooling in which they feel safe and protected. They are clear that they are not yet adults and are not ready for adult responsibilities although they might have an adult shape and size. Young people also indicate awareness that adults can view them as threatening and a social concern. In this they highlight that although as aged under 18 years they have, in some legislative terms, a child status, they can be viewed as having an adult responsibility not to undermine the interests of adults.

Stasiulis (2002:527) argues that children "are often not the real focus" of laws related to children's rights and protections "that are guided instead by other adult social

interests and goals." This perception is supported by Osler and Starkey's (2005) contention that the goal of education for citizenship has been in part stimulated by an adult concern to encourage the political and community engagement of young people and curb their perceived anti-social behaviour (Blair 2006). Stasiulis (2002: 530) states that children's rights to protection are not mutually exclusive of their right to participation - to be engaged in deliberation and debate, as Pring (1999: 86) suggests, on matters of "supreme human importance." Although this school has pupil councils they are not conceived by the young people here, to have any real decision making power or status amongst the pupil population. Indeed teachers indicate that schools are not democracies but are primarily shaped by the head teacher's response to external political pressure.

This study demonstrates that school culture is not free standing from external culture or universal or singular within school space. Different spaces in school can have different cultures dependent on the layout of the space and the distribution of power amongst the adults and young people present. Data analysis from this study shows however that all schooling's cultural spaces are affected by the primary focus on exam success. This can affect the value ascribed to different subjects and how different school spaces are constructed and inhabited by diverse pupils. This focus, as Lister (2003) has pointed out, constructs young people as citizens-in-the-making whose cultural value is measured in relation to the future exchange value of their qualifications on the labour market.

Social inequalities mean that pupils cannot compete for qualifications on the same terms (Reay 2004b, Raffe et al 2006, Ianelli 2008). While class advantage or disadvantage is not clearly visible to pupils, school culture, in particular pupil counter-culture which popularises young people who challenge the value of academic success and devalues academically successful "geeks", is very clearly shaped by social inequalities. This is made visible in the organisation of classes into ability sets which contain a disproportionate number of young people from working class backgrounds (Harlan and Malcolm 1997).

Young people who are the focus of this study are active in constructing identities which enable self worth and data analysis indicates that this is shaped in part by their status within school culture. Their cultural status is shaped by entrenched inequalities associated with gender, race and class. Although anti-discriminatory practices and compensatory provision are visible in this school they are undermined by schooling's cultural location in a local, national and international context embedded with social inequalities.

In summary: This study demonstrates that school culture is shaped by social inequalities. Pupils implicitly demonstrate a hierarchy of culturally valued citizenship associated with class, gender, race, sexuality and disability that is not successfully challenged by schooling. Young people conceive the culturally valued citizen in school terms as the educational achiever. Young people who don't achieve academically, particularly working class young people, then can have an implicitly devalued citizenship status. Young people also indicate that schooling does not effectively counteract their diminished cultural status in relation to adults. The emphasis on young people's future success on the labour market and their diminished social status in relation to adults, constructs young people as citizens-in-the-making. This study also shows that school culture is shaped by young people's agency in constructing identities which enable self worth. Young people indicate that while they want autonomy and take responsibility for others as citizens, they are not yet ready to take on full adult responsibilities.

4 Implications of Findings for Theoretical Knowledge

The rapid expansion of theoretical literature on education for citizenship in recent years includes relatively few empirical studies (Lister 2003, 2007). There is as yet little empirical evidence from the cultural location of Scotland. The large scale Citizenship Education Longitudinal study currently being undertaken in England (Keating et al 2009) examines the effects of the compulsory citizenship education

programmes on the knowledge, skills and attitudes of young people and the impact of different strategies of delivery in schools in England.

This study takes a different approach supporting a theoretical conception of young people as citizens of today rather than citizens in the making and sets out to explore young people's everyday constructions of identity as citizens. Applying the theories of Bourdieu (1977, 1984, 1986, 1989, 1991) and developing the work of feminist theorists who have built on his work (Reay 1997, 2004, 2005, Skeggs 1997, 2004, Adkins 2004), this thesis illustrates how inequalities are implicated in the production of young people's citizenship identities in the context of schooling. Bourdieu's (1984, 1989, 1992) theories focusing on how people are positioned in social space relative to others help highlight both that young people do not yet have cultural legitimacy as political and social actors relative to adults; and that the construction of socially legitimised citizenship identities takes place in everyday cultural practices. The linking of Bourdieu's work with studies exploring how young people "learn" citizenship is recent (Kennelly & Dillabough 2008) and still relatively rare.

The findings generally support Bourdieu's conception of a "class unconscious" by demonstrating the way that young people implicitly accept normative cultural practices. The findings go further however supporting studies which highlight young people's agency in resisting normative conceptions of cultural value by subscribing to sub-cultural groups which construct their potentially devalued ascribed identities as a virtue (Willis 1977, Mac An Ghail 1994, Mills 2008, Ramji 2007). In addition findings support and develop Nash's (2002: 46) contention that Bourdieu's emphasis on cultural reproduction in education and the struggle for social distinction may miss "the real social sources" of symbolic power. Education for citizenship implies engagement in issues of human concern suggesting a key role for education in enabling critical thinking. The findings of this study highlight a concern that the focus on instrumental outcomes may undermine particularly working class young people's access to education which enables their capacity to assert their citizenship interests.

This study also illustrates the efficacy of a theoretical approach to the study of citizenship which takes empirical account of both redistribution issues associated

with class and recognition issues associated with identity (Fraser 2003). The findings of this study demonstrate the theoretical importance of these issues in relation to understanding citizenship status, practice and associated sense of identity and belonging. In particular an exploration of diverse economic circumstances and plural identities illustrate factors that can in citizenship terms, inhibit "parity of participation" (Fraser 2005: 73, Lister 2007).

This thesis supports commentators who advocate engaging with and listening to young people and in so doing offers a tangible reinforcement of diverse young people's legitimacy as citizens-in-the-present whose perspectives are worthy of theoretical scrutiny (Marshall 2006, Lawy and Biesta 2006, Haste 2004, Lister 2003, 2007, Weller 2003, Stasiulis 2002).

5 Implications of Findings for Educational Practice

The Advisory Council of Learning and Teaching Scotland subscribes to the view that everyone should be recognised as being a citizen, in a variety of senses, from birth. Young people should be regarded as citizens of today rather than citizens in waiting (Learning and Teaching Scotland 2002: 8).

Although educational policy advocates regarding young people "as citizens of today" this study demonstrates that they are still implicitly constructed in schooling as citizens in waiting. Recognising young people as already engaged in the practice of citizenship means taking seriously, as these findings do, young people's conceptions of the social worlds within which they operate. The organisational institutions of schooling implicitly contribute to the distance between the social and cultural spaces occupied by young people and those occupied by adults. This study illustrates that the culture or ethos of school is experienced by young people in a different way from adults and therefore their meaning making in school requires critical attention.

The data findings illustrate that young people are not yet in a position either where they are afforded the rights associated with full adult citizenship status or where they have the physical and emotional maturity or economic independence necessary to

carry full responsibility for all the obligations of citizenship practice. This should not however deny them the right to a citizenship status which like other vulnerable groups in society is different but equal (Lister 2007). Cohen (2005) argues that children, by which she means anyone under the age of 18, have a semi-citizen status. Children are still largely excluded from public affairs, are segregated into the private realm of the family and children's spaces such as schooling and their interests "are often obscured or elided with adult society" (Cohen 2005: 224). Their rights are often subsumed by the rights of parents to impose their belief systems on children as long as they are not caught inflicting serious physical or emotional harm. Cohen points out that, children are rarely taken seriously in their capacity as (partial) citizens (Cohen 2005: 227).

Their current status as minors is taken to be both temporary and preparatory, and as such, the policies and laws that affect them are designed not with a mind to the individual people that make up the youth population, but to the people *various adults wish them to become*. [...] Focusing on the impending adulthood of children obscures the fact that children as a group are a permanent feature of the populace (Cohen 2005: 230 - italics in original).

The overall function of education for citizenship is framed as "preparing young people for political, social, economic, cultural and educational participation in society" (HMIe 2006: 3). This Thesis demonstrates that young people are already political actors who influence the political process despite not yet having adult legal rights including the right to vote; social actors visible in shaping social space; economic actors targeted by advertisers as a key consumer group; cultural actors visible in creating sub-cultural activity; and educational actors influencing the practice of schooling which also regulates a key portion of their time. Young people should be clearly understood as current active citizens in society. An educational policy which aims to support young people to become "responsible citizens" apparently assumes they are not already operating as such. The young people in this study illustrate the various ways they take responsibility for themselves and others. Their choice of action is however structured by differentiated material conditions framed by young people's cultural location in social space relative to others.

This Thesis highlights young people's everyday struggle for recognition in the context of school; an ongoing search for a culturally valued identity or indeed a citizenship status, practice and sense of belonging that this thesis shows, is conditioned by the value attributed to their cultural position in social space. As Hobson and Lister argue,

Lack of recognition implies exclusion and marginalization from full participation in the community; thus recognition struggles are struggles for participation and influence over the boundaries and meanings of citizenship (Hobson & Lister 2002: 41)

This study reflects other studies in illuminating that young people do not in general use the language of citizenship but invoke themes relevant to citizenship in their descriptions of their everyday lives such as identity, belonging, participation and responsibility towards others (Hall & Williamson 1999, Lister 2003, Weller 2003). While liberal individualism constructs citizenship status as preserving the rights and the autonomy of the individual and republican and communitarian constructions conceive it as a practice which should also entail obligation and service to the common good (Lawson 2001, Lockyer 2003).

In contemporary UK, the political interest in educating for citizenship has been driven by a communitarian model with a particular emphasis on responsibilities (Hart 2009, Blair 2006). In Scottish educational policy this model is reflected in the focus on young people being enabled to become "*responsible* citizens" (Scottish Government 2008). The word citizen is presented as neutral and universal, potentially obscuring gender, class or race differences in citizenship status and rights (Lister 2003, 2007). The term "responsible" appears similarly de-contextualised as a stable attribute that a young person might be able to acquire (Baker & Newnes 2005, France 1998). The data from this study suggests however that how diverse young people are positioned in social space relative to others will impact on their cultural status as citizens, therefore conditioning their sense of self worth and belonging and their civic or social practice.

The purpose of the curriculum is to help children and young people to become successful learners, confident individuals, responsible citizens and effective

contributors (the four capacities) (Curriculum for Excellence, Scottish Government 2008).

Education for the development of the "four capacities", including education for citizenship is conceived in the Scottish context as permeating the curriculum and the ethos of a school (HMIe 2006). It is understood then that young people learn what it means to be a citizen through "the ethos and life of a school as a community" (Curriculum for Excellence, Scottish Government 2008). Bruner makes the point that educational enterprise implicitly sponsors a certain version of the world and plays a significant role in helping young people "construct and maintain a concept of Self" (Bruner 1996:15). Schooling is of course never culturally free standing and cultures are always in a process of change (Bruner 1996:97). A young person's construction of self and others in the context of school may then reveal something about the nature of a temporally specific cultural context and their interpretation of the version of the world being sponsored. I have shown for example that young people can: - implicitly construct poverty as related to individual deficits; be subject to class envy and antagonisms but have a lack of awareness of class advantage; resist gender stereotypes but indicate that their self worth is conditioned by traditional conceptions of femininity and masculinity; and be aware of discrimination on the grounds of race, sexuality or disability as a moral wrong but see it primarily as an individual issue of capacity to fit in rather than related to cultural or structural disadvantage. This study suggests that young people's sense of a socially legitimised citizenship identity is shaped by structure implicit in school space. This relates both to the limited cultural capital of school children in wider public space and the differential ascription of institutional cultural capital to pupils within school space.

Pring (1999) questions instrumental approaches to education where the school is used as a mechanism to impart knowledge, skills, attitudes or behaviour which the government or anyone in power deems to be important. The goal, he argues, is not to agree a definition of citizenship but to have an education service, which accepts the lack of consensus on matters of "extreme human importance". The aims of education then should be a matter of debate involving pupils not a means of achieving ends

already decided upon. Pring's (1999) view is that political education or citizenship education is about enabling pupils to face political uncertainties and choices and to play a part in shaping the future and that these attributes are most effectively developed via humanities education. Paterson (2004) agrees that education should be about building "cultural capacities" and that preparation for citizenship is best provided by opportunity for discourse, debate and developing understanding in the context of a range of curriculum subjects such as literature, history, geography, politics, science and religion. Of course in the course of gaining qualifications some young people should get this opportunity.

This study has illustrated, however, that a construction of schooling as enabling ongoing active and thoughtful critical engagement in citizenship issues can be inhibited by a primary focus on young people's projected capacity to sell their skills on the labour market. This apparently central educational goal directing them towards finding their place on the labour market, implicitly constructs young people as citizens-in-the-making. Drawing on an Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (2007) study "the Quality and Equity of Schooling in Scotland", the Scottish Government highlight concern for the "too many" young people leaving school without qualifications and frame the solution as "taking a bolder and broader approach to vocational studies in schools" (Curriculum for Excellence, Scottish Government 2008). This however potentially undermines in particular working class young people's access to the type of implicitly academic education that Pring (1999) and Paterson (2004) describe, one which encourages and enables young people to debate matters of "extreme human importance"; in effect one which could make struggles related to class and cultural identities visible, and enable active, thoughtful and informed citizenship.

This study illustrates that young people may adapt or conform to the limits of the life they have been ascribed in part by rejecting an academic education in which they are constructed as failures. Ensuring all young people have access to a broadly academic education, however, is an important aspect of ensuring diverse young people have

parity of participation, the capabilities to exercise their social and political rights "as a necessary condition of justice for a public political arrangement" (Nussbaum 2000: 71). Paulo Freire (2005:115) argues that

Speaking to and with the learners is an unpretentious but very positive way for democratic teachers to contribute in their school to the training of responsible and critical citizens [...] it is in the school that the teachers who talk to and with learners, no matter of what tender age they may be, are thus heard by them.

The findings from the study illustrate the value of listening to young people. Young people's current experience as citizens is a potential educational resource which could enable young people, to make sense of their own experience of differential citizenship, and to identify their own role in tackling citizenship issues.

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Appendices

1 Appendix One

<i>Name (Pseudonym)</i>	<i>Reside With:</i>	<i>Siblings</i>	<i>Friendship Group</i>	<i>Age</i>
Darren	Mother+ Step-Dad	3 brothers + 1 sister	Skaters/Goths/Chav - boys and girls	15
Layla	Mother+ mum's boyfriend	1 brother + new baby	Plastics/Trends - boys and girls	15
Diane	Mother	2 older brothers	Goths/Emos/Ska fans- boys and girls	17
Martha	Mother	1 brother	Emos/Goths/Workmates - boys and girls	17
Peter	Mother +time with Father	1 brother	"Normal" - boys	15
Freddie	Mother +time with Father	2 sister, 1 brother	"Normal" Goths/Chavs/Neds- mainly boys but some girls	15
Suri	Mother + father	2 brother, 2 sister	mainly Muslim girls	16
Sunni	Mother + father	1 sister, 1 brother	mainly Muslim girls	15
Sandra	Mother+ Step-Dad	baby	"Normal" - mainly girls but some boys	15
Fiona	Mother + father	1 brother, 1 sister	"Normal" - mainly girls but some boys	15
Paul	Mother+ time with Dad	3 brothers in England	"Normal" - boys	15
Nina	Looked After by LA	Not known	"Normal" - mainly girls	15

2 Appendix Two

The Self Confident Citizen Study

My name is Margaret Petrie. I am doing a research study. I am interested in recent education policy from the Scottish Executive that wants schools to help all young people become successful learners, confident individuals, responsible citizens and effective contributors. We know that self-confidence is important for health and wellbeing and that there are many different ideas about what citizenship means.

I want to find out what citizenship and self-confidence mean to young people. I am interested in what influences young people's self-confidence and their understanding of citizenship in and out of school.

Contact Details: Margaret Petrie, Moray House School of Education, Simon Laurie House, University of Edinburgh, Holyrood Road, EH8 8AQ
Tel: 0131 651 6539,
email: Margaret.H.Petrie@education.ed.ac.uk

PhD Study funded by the Economic and Social Research Council and the Scottish Executive Education Department

Can You Help Me?

I would like a group of 8-10 young people age 15/16 to help me with this study. This would mean:

- I would be around when you were participating in activities in the Alternative Education Unit (the Base).
- I would observe citizenship and health promotion activities in which you are involved in other parts of the school.
- I may ask to observe other activities you are involved in outside of school.
- You could develop ideas with me about how you can be involved in the research such as taking photographs, drawings or short films.
- I will talk to you about what I am doing and may want to ask you questions about what you think. This could be on your own or in a small group depending on what you prefer.

If you agree to help me now you can change your mind later and you will no longer be part of the study. I will ask your permission to observe activities outside of school and when I want to interview you.

Privacy - Your name will never be used in any written publication, report or paper about this study. All names and identifying characteristics will be changed so that no person, school or organisation that took part in the study, can be recognized in any written papers or reports.

How will you benefit from this study?

You will be listened to. Your way of understanding and expressing yourself will be valued. Papers targeting teachers, parents and academics will be published, highlighting your experiences and ideas, which may make the Scottish Executive or schools think differently about the way they deliver education.

What will happen to the information gathered from this study?

I will write up all the information into a long report, which I can use to try to get a qualification. I will also write a short report about what I find out for all the people who participated in the study including young people, teachers and the City of Edinburgh Council Children and Families Department. After that I aim to publish papers about this study to be read by teachers, parents and academics.

The Self Confident Citizen Study

Consent Form

I consent to participate in this study.

- I understand that the study is trying to find out what citizenship and self-confidence means to young people.
- I understand that my participation means that I will be listened to and observed in different school activities and asked to engage in individual or group discussions.
- I understand that my consent will be asked for again if the researcher wants to observe activities I am involved in outside of school.
- I understand that I can opt out at any stage.
- I know that my name will not be used in any written documents and details about me may be changed to ensure I am not known.
- I understand that if I tell Margaret Petrie anything at any stage that indicates I am at risk of being harmed (or anyone else under the age of 16 is) she will have to tell someone else to ensure I am safe.

Name:

Age:

School Year:

Signature:

Thank You!

3 Appendix Three

Coding Frame

Role of Education

Teachers' role
Curriculum content
Teaching and learning styles
Use of space
Role of Exams
Rules and regulations
Overall purpose of education

Health and wellbeing

Alcohol
Drugs
Diet
Exercise
Risk taking behaviour
Violence

Values – social and moral codes

Individual values
As conveyed by peer group
As conveyed by non family adults in wider community
As conveyed by parents/immediate and extended family
As conveyed by teachers and school

Role of Multi-media

Music
Television

Internet
Mobile telephones
Films

Identity

Self image
Gender
Ethnic origin
Religion
Nationality
Community
Social background

Relationships with others

Friends
Boyfriends or girlfriends
Parents
Siblings
Extended Family
Teachers
Other significant adults
Wider peer group
Wider community

Activism

Local community activism
Pupil Councils
Volunteering
Political party or group
Special interest groups